WI
0-9i

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/collectionsofsta0009lyma

C. C. Washburn

WI
0-9

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

EDITED BY

LYMAN COPELAND DRAPER, LL. D.

SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY

VOL. IX

Being a page-for-page Reprint of the Original Issue of 1882

UNDER THE EDITORIAL DIRECTION OF

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL. D.

Secretary and Superintendent

Index

MADISON
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1909

SEATTLE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

Published by Authority of Chapter 96, Laws of 1903

2,000 COPIES PRINTED

DEMOCRAT PRINTING CO., MADISON, STATE PRINTER

Contents and Illustrations

PAGE

PORTRAIT OF CADWALLADER C. WASHBURN . . . *Frontispiece*

PREFACE TO REPRINT EDITION. *R. G. Thwaites* . . .

Vol. IX

(Edited by Lyman Copeland Draper)

FACSIMILE OF ORIGINAL TITLE-PAGE 1

INTRODUCTORY 3

OBJECTS OF COLLECTION DESIRED BY THE SOCIETY . . . 4

OFFICERS FOR 1880 7

OFFICERS FOR 1881 9

OFFICERS FOR 1882 11

TWENTX-SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, JANUARY 6, 1880 13

TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, JANUARY 3, 1881 21

TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, JANUARY 3, 1882 29

EMBLEMATIC MOUNDS IN WISCONSIN. *Stephen D. Peet* . . 40

ILLUSTRATIONS: Sketches of mounds, 46–48, 50–52, 54, 55, 57–59, 61, 64–73.

A MOUND NEAR BOSCOBEL. *C. K. Dean* 75

PORTRAITS OF COLUMBUS. *James Davie Butler* . . . 76

ILLUSTRATIONS: Hernandez's copy of the Yanez portrait at Madrid, 76.

EARLY HISTORIC RELICS OF THE NORTHWEST. *James Davie Butler* . 97

ARTICLES: Recent accessions of historic copper, 97; Aztalan, the ancient city, 99; Brick baked in situ, 103; The first page of Wisconsin history, 105; Discovery of the Mississippi, 108; Jolliet's first map, 113; French footprints in Northwestern Wisconsin, 117; Roma rediviva in Rock County, 120; Spanish silver in early Wisconsin, 121; The Hispano-Wisconsin medal, 124; A holograph deed of 1662, 126.

Page

ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENT: Letter of Pierre Margry to the Editor, 109–112.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Plan of Aztalan, 101; Inscription on coin, 122; Haldimand's certificate to Chawanon, 124.

IDENTITY OF "LAKE SAKAEGAN." Symposium by *John A. Rice, H. M. Robinson, Moses M. Strong, J. H. Wheelock*, editors of Milwaukee *Sunday Telegraph*, and *The Editor* . . 130

NARRATIVE OF CAPT. THOMAS G. ANDERSON, 1800–28. Introduction by *The Editor* 137

ILLUSTRATION: Portrait of Anderson, 136.

JOURNAL AT FORT MCKAY, AUGUST 10—NOVEMBER 23, 1814. *Thomas G. Anderson* 206

LETTERS: *By Anderson.* To Pierre Grignon, 211; to Duncan Graham, 219, 222, 223, 225, 226, 242; to Robert McDouall, 220, 221, 230–232, 243–245; to Francois Frenier, 222; to Michael Brisbois, Jr., 233. *To Anderson.*—By Pierre Grignon, 210, 211; by Duncan Graham, 224–228; by Robert McDouall, 228–230.

MILITARY ORDERS AT FORT MCKAY, AUGUST 10—NOVEMBER 28, 1814. *Thomas G. Anderson* 251

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN DOCUMENTS, 1814–15 262

DOCUMENTS: *Lists.* Of Canadian volunteers, 262–265; of delivery of public stores, Fort McKay, 279–281. *Letters.* Robert McDouall to T. G. Anderson, 265–269, 272, 273, 276, 277; Anderson to McDouall, 269–272; Robert Dickson to A. H. Bulger, 272, 274; Inhabitants of the Dog Plains to Bulger, 275, 276. *Indian speeches.* Le Corbeau François, 274, 275; La Feuille, 277; Sparrow Hawk, 278; Barbouillier, 279.

RECOLLECTIONS OF PRAIRIE DU CHIEN. *B. W. Brisbois*, in an interview with *The Editor* 282

ILLUSTRATION: PLAN OF PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, 288.

INDIAN CUSTOMS AND EARLY RECOLLECTIONS. *Elizabeth Thérèse Baird* 303

ARTICLES: Indian customs, 303; Reminiscences of Mackinaw, 316; Reminiscences of Green Bay, 319; Indian massacre at Prairie du Chien, 323.

ILLUSTRATION: Portrait of Elizabeth Thérèse Baird, 303.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES ON CADWALLADER C. WASHBURN, LL. D. . 327

ADDRESSES: By David Atwood, 327–349; Harlow S. Orton, 350–352; William B. Washburn, 352–354; John B. Parkinson, 354–356; James D. Butler, 356–360; Edward S. Holden, 360–363; O. M. Conover, 363–365; Mortimer M. Jackson, 365.

Page

Sketch of Charles H. Larrabee. *The Editor* . . . 366

Illustrative Documents: *Resolutions.* By officers of Twenty-fourth Wisconsin Regiment, 379, 380. *Letters.* Larrabee to Milwaukee *News*, 370, 371; A. W. Randall to Larrabee, 371; Rufus King to same, 371; L. D. Currie to same, 374; W. S. Rosecrans to same, 385; T. O. Howe to same, 387; W. S. Hancock to Simon Cameron, 373.

Pioneer Settlement of Sheboygan County. *John E. Thomas* . 389

Illustrative Document: *Letter.* T. J. V. Owen to Wamixico et al., 390, 391.

Sketch of William Farnsworth. *Morgan Lewis Martin* . . 397

Illustration: Portrait of Morgan Lewis Martin, 397.

Sketch of Moses Hardwick. *Morgan Lewis Martin* . . 401

Memoir of Henry D. Barron. *Samuel Stillman Fifield* . . 405

Sketch of Chauncey H. Purple. *Samuel D. Hastings* . . 410

William Hull and Satterlee Clark. *Elias A. Calkins* . . 413

Articles: William Hull, 413: Satterlee Clark, 417.

Character of Levi B. Vilas. *Arthur B. Braley* . . . 421

Wisconsin Necrology, 1876–81. *The Editor* . . . 42_6

Additions. *The Editor* 464

Index. *The Editor* 469

Preface to Reprint Edition

From the point of view of historical permanence, the most notable material in volume ix appertains to the history of Prairie du Chien, which next to Green Bay is the oldest white settlement in Wisconsin. The "Personal Narrative" and "Journal" of Capt. Thomas G. Anderson, an officer in the British expedition against Prairie du Chien in 1814, were the first documents published by the Society, giving anything approaching an adequate account of that interesting event. The "Prairie du Chien Documents, 1814–15," following these, throw additional light on the history of the Prairie during and just subsequent to the British invasion. All of this material should, however, be studied in connection with the further documentary evidence thereon, given in our volumes xi, xii, and xiii. B. W. Brisbois's "Recollections of Prairie du Chien," as taken from his lips by Dr. Draper, take a wider range, chiefly 1808–27.

Mrs. Henry S. Baird's "Indian Customs and Early Recollections" is a readable outline of her career on the Island of Mackinac and in Green Bay, and her intimate and in a degree expert, observations of Indian character and customs. But, except for the portion of the article relating to the aborigines, Mrs. Baird's delightful articles in our volumes xiv and xv convey much more exact information and are in every way superior to this earlier account.

Rev. Stephen D. Peet's well-illustrated article on "Emblematic Mounds in Wisconsin" attracted much attention in its day, being perhaps the most important contribution made by that well-known archæologist to the study of the aboriginal effigy earthworks in this State. Archæology is a progressive science,

and working hypotheses are apt soon to be shouldered aside for new theories, the result of later thought and investigation. Since Dr. Peet's early studies, great strides have been made in this subject, especially by the members of the American Bureau of Ethnology, until many if not most of the theories of a quarter of a century ago have been abandoned by scholars. Apparently some degree of permanency has at last been reached, however, for it now seems improbable that much further information can be obtained concerning our Indian mounds. The publications of the Bureau and of the Smithsonian Institution, together with Cyrus Thomas's *Introduction to North American Archæology* (Cincinnati, 1899), should be sought as giving the latest conclusions concerning them.

An interesting symposium is held, on the question of the identity of what is called "Lake Sakaegan" in the Sauk-Fox treaty of cession signed at St. Louis on November 3, 1804. Moses M. Strong thinks it to be Mukwonago Lake; but John A. Rice and others contend that it is the present Lake Pewaukee, and Dr. Draper considers that they have the best of the argument.

Dr. Butler contributes to this volume a scholarly dissertation upon the "Portraits of Columbus," a topic incited by a gift to the Society by General Lucius Fairchild, of a copy of the famous Yanez portrait in Madrid. He follows this with eight short antiquarian sketches, chiefly contributions previously published in the local newspaper press, upon subjects as wide apart as Wisconsin prehistoric copper implements and an old Massachusetts land deed that had strayed into our Museum. The veteran savant's remarkable versatility is nowhere better illustrated than in this series of articles.[1]

The department of local history is formally represented not only by the Prairie du Chien papers, but by John E. Thomas's "Pioneer Settlement of Sheboygan County." Incidentally there is also much good biographical and local material in the various memoirs on Cadwallader C. Washburn, Charles H. Larrabee,

[1] See biographical sketch of Dr. Butler in Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1905, pp. 21–26.

William Farnsworth, Moses Hardwick, Henry D. Barron, Chauncey H. Purple, William Hull, Satterlee Clark, and Levi B. Vilas; and in the Editor's brief but carefully-prepared sketches of deceased citizens of the State—"Wisconsin Necrology, 1876–81." A study of the *Annual Reports* for 1880–82 is of special concern to those interested in the remarkable story of the development of the Society under Dr. Draper's management.

As with other volumes in this series of reprints, the page-for-page method has been strictly followed, so that page references to either the original or the reprint editions may be made indifferently. No other liberties have been taken with the original than such as were essential to make it conform, so far as deemed mechanically practicable, to modern typographic taste; to correct obvious typographical mistakes, and such further errors as were pointed out by Dr. Draper himself, in his list of "Corrections;" here and there slightly to modify the titles of articles and the running heads, so as to bring them within the possibilities of our larger display type; and to modernize, but not otherwise change, the form of the old Table of Contents and Index. A few additional illustrations are also introduced; but most of those in the present edition were in the original.

R. G. T.

Madison, Wis.
March, 1909.

REPORT

AND

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF WISCONSIN,

For the Years 1880, 1881 and 1882.

VOL. IX.

MADISON, WIS.:
DAVID ATWOOD, STATE PRINTER.
1882.

Introductory

The ninth volume of *Collections* of our Historical Society will be found to add something towards the elucidation of the history and growth of Wisconsin. The matter, as usual in our series, is varied in its character. The paper by Rev. Mr. Peet, on the "Emblematic Mounds of the State," is the result of earnest study, and cannot but prove interesting to all students and investigators of that ancient period. Prof. Butler's scraps on early Northwestern history serve to preserve some fragments and landmarks of the early time; while his paper, discussing the character and authenticity of the portraits of Columbus, will attract the attention of the curious, and prove a valuable contribution to a subject hitherto involved in doubt and obscurity.

The narrative and journal of Capt. Thomas G. Anderson, never before published, give us some interesting glimpses of the wilderness region of Wisconsin, its white and red denizens, as they appeared from seventy to eighty years ago—the Indians and Indian trade of the Northwest; together with much new matter illustrative of the British expedition against Prairie du Chien, and its capture, in 1814. Mr. Brisbois', Mrs. Baird's, Judge Martin's, and Mr. Thomas' reminiscences of Wisconsin's early days, together with the biographical sketches of Gov. Washburn, Col. Larrabee, Judge Barron, Mr. Purple, Wm. Hull, Sat. Clark, and Judge Vilas, serve not only to impart interest and variety to the volume, but add not a little to our local history, and to a better understanding and truer estimate of several of the representative men of Wisconsin. L. C. D.

Objects of Collection Desired by the Society

1. Manuscript statements and narratives of pioneer settlers—old letters, and journals relative to the early history and settlement of Wisconsin, and the Black Hawk War; biographical notes of our pioneers, and of eminent citizens, deceased, and facts illustrative of our Indian tribes, their history, characteristics, sketches of their prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian implements, dress, ornaments and curiosities.

2. Files of newspapers, books, pamphlets, college catalogues; minutes of ecclesiastical conventions, associations, conferences, and synods, and other publications relating to this State, or Michigan Territory, of which Wisconsin formed a part from 1818 to 1835—and hence the Territorial laws and journals and files of Michigan newspapers of that period, we are particularly anxious to obtain.

3. Drawings and descriptions of our ancient mounds and fortifications, their size, representation and locality.

4. Information respecting any ancient coins, prehistoric copper implements, or other curiosities found in Wisconsin. The contribution of such articles to the Cabinet of the Society is respectfully solicited.

5. Indian geographical names of streams and localities in this State, with their derivation and significance.

6. Books of all kinds, and especially such as relate to American history, travels and biography in general, and the West in particular, family genealogies, old magazines, pamphlets, files of newspapers, maps, historical manuscripts, autographs of distinguished persons, coins, medals, paintings, portraits, statuary, and engravings.

7. We solicit from historical societies and other learned bodies that interchange of books and other materials by which the usefulness of institutions of this nature is so essentially enhanced—pledging ourselves to repay such contributions by acts in kind to the full extent of our ability.

8. The Society particularly begs the favor and compliment of authors and publishers, to present, with their autographs, copies of their respective works for its Library.

9. Editors and publishers of newspapers, magazines and reviews, will confer a lasting favor on the Society by contributing their publications regularly for its Library—or, at least, such numbers as may contain articles bearing upon Wisconsin history, biography, geography, or antiquities all which will be carefully preserved for binding.

We respectfully request that all to whom this circular is addressed will be disposed to give to our appeal a generous response. Packages for the Society may be sent to or deposited with, the following gentlemen, who have kindly consented to take charge of them. Such parcels, to prevent mistakes, should be properly enveloped and addressed, even if but a single article; and it would, furthermore, be desirable that donors should forward the Corresponding Secretary a specification of books or articles donated and deposited.

DEPOSITARIES

Peter G. Thomson, 4 Queen's Head Passage, Pater-Noster Row, London.
George E. Littlefield, 67 Cornhill, Boston.
D. G. Francis, Cooper Union, New York.
C. L. Woodward, 78 Nassau St., New York.
C. D. F. Burns, 157 Mercer St., New York.
Henkels & Tripple, 1117 Chestnut St., Phila.
E. Mallett, Carroll Institute, Washington, D. C.
Robert Clarke & Co., 65 West Fourth St., Cincinnati.
Peter G. Thomson, 179 Vine St., Cincinnati.
Col. S. V. Shipman, 161 La Salle St., Chicago.
James S. Buck, Milwaukee.

Donors to the Society's Library and collections will, in return, be placed upon the exchange list, and receive equivalent publications of the Society, the issue of which has already commenced, and will be regularly continued.

Officers for 1880

President—Hon. C. C. Washburn, LL. D.

Vice-Presidents—Hon. Harlow S. Orton, LL. D., Madison; Hon. Morgan L. Martin, Green Bay; Hon. James T. Lewis, LL. D., Columbus; Hon. James Sutherland, Janesville; Hon. H. D. Barron, St. Croix Falls; Chauncey C. Britt, Esq., Portage City; Hon. John H. Rountree, Platteville; Hon. Simeon Mills, Madison; Hon. J. F. Potter, East Troy Lake; Samuel Marshall, Esq., Milwaukee; Hon. John T. Kingston, Necedah; Hon. Sat. Clark, Horicon; Hon. Moses M. Strong, Mineral Point; Hon. Thad. C. Pound, Chippewa Falls; Hon. J. J. Guppey, Portage City; Fred. S. Perkins, Esq., Burlington.

Honorary Vice-Presidents—Hon. Cyrus Woodman, Massachusetts; Hon. Geo. W. Bradford, New York; Hon. Perry H. Smith, Illinois; Robt. Clarke, Ohio; Hon. A. C. Dodge, Iowa; Hon. L. J. Farwell, Missouri; Hon. C. C. Trowbridge, Michigan; Chas. Fairchild, Massachusetts; Col. S. V. Shipman, Illinois; Hon. Philo White, LL. D., New York; Hon. Amasa Cobb, Nebraska; Samuel H. Hunt, New Jersey.

Corresponding Secretary—Lyman C. Draper, LL. D.

Recording Secretary—Col. F. H. Firmin.

Treasurer—Hon. A. H. Main.

Librarian—Daniel S. Durrie.

Assistant Librarians—Miss Isabel Durrie and Isaac S. Bradley.

Curators, ex officio—Hon. W. E. Smith, Governor; Hon. H. B. Warner, Secretary of State; Hon. Richard Guenther, State Treasurer; Hon. Alex. Mitchell, Life Director.

For one year.—Gen. David Atwood, Prof. O. M. Conover, Hon. J. H. Carpenter, Col. W. F. Vilas, B. J. Stevens, Prof. W. F. Allen, Hon. H. A. Tenney, Hon. A. B. Braley, Col. Thomas Reynolds, and Prof. R. B. Anderson.

For two years—James D. Butler, LL. D., Hon. B. E. Hutchinson, Hon. J. D. Gurnee, N. B. Van Slyke, C. P. Chapman, Hon. H. H. Giles, Isaac Lyon, Prof. J. B. Parkinson, Hon. G. B. Burrows, and Hon. J. A. Johnson.

For three years—Gen. G. P. Delaplaine, Hon. Andrew Proudfit, Hon. S. U. Pinney, Dr. Joseph Hobbins, Hon. E. W. Keyes, Hon. S. D. Hastings, Geo. Raymer, Hon. E. E. Bryant, R. M. Bashford, and Hon. J. C. Gregory.

Standing Committees

Library, Purchases and Fixtures—Gov. W. E. Smith, Warner, Guenther, Conover, and Burrows.

Legislative Conference Committee—Keyes, Mills, Pinney, Giles, Braley, Atwood, and Vilas.

Publication—Draper, Butler, Anderson, Atwood, and Bashford.

Auditing Accounts—Mills, Allen, Hastings, Anderson, and Chapman.

Finance—Hastings, Guenther, Van Slyke, and Washburn.

Endowment—Orton, Washburn, Proudfit, W. E. Smith, Mills, Van Slyke, Chapman, Burrows, Johnson, Atwood, and Giles.

Literary Exchanges—Durrie, Firmin, Hobbins, and Warner.

Cabinet—Lyon, Allen, Stevens, Keyes, and Durrie.

Natural History—Tenney, Hobbins, Delaplaine, and Stevens.

Printing—Parkinson, Raymer, Atwood, and Carpenter.

Art Gallery—Delaplaine, W. E. Smith, Vilas, Reynolds, Bryant, and Raymer.

Historical Narratives—Pinney, Orton, Tenney, Proudfit, and Hutchinson.

Indian History and Nomenclature—Chapman, Butler, Allen, Stevens, and Reynolds.

Lectures and Essays—Parkinson, Butler, Conover, Durrie, and Hutchinson.

Soliciting Committee—Chapman, Hobbins, Braley, Giles, Proudfit, and Johnson.

Annual Address—Burrows, Pinney, Braley, Gurnee, and Gregory.

Membership Nominations—Bashford, Chapman, Vilas, Gurnee, Bryant, and Mills.

Prehistoric Antiquities—Butler, Perkins, Allen, Conover, and Giles.

Loan Committee—Gregory, Mills, Carpenter, and Hastings.

Obituaries—Atwood, Draper, Braley, Tenney, and Bashford.

Officers for 1881

President—Hon. C. C. Washburn, LL. D.

Vice-Presidents—Hon. Harlow S. Orton, LL. D., Madison; Hon. Morgan L. Martin, Green Bay; Hon. James T. Lewis, LL. D., Columbus; Hon. James Sutherland, Janesville; Hon. H. D. Barron, St. Croix Falls; Chauncey C. Britt, Esq., Portage City; Hon. John H. Rountree, Platteville; Hon. Simeon Mills, Madison; Hon. J. F. Potter, East Troy Lake; Samuel Marshall, Esq., Milwaukee; Hon. John T. Kingston, Necedah; Hon. Sat. Clark, Horicon; Hon. Moses M. Strong, Mineral Point; Hon. Thad. C. Pound, Chippewa Falls; Hon. J. J. Guppey, Portage City; Fred. S. Perkins, Esq., Burlington.

Honorary Vice-Presidents—Hon. Cyrus Woodman, Massachusetts; Hon. Geo. W. Bradford, New York; Hon. Perry H. Smith, Illinois; Robt. Clarke, Esq., Ohio; Hon. A. C. Dodge, Iowa; Hon. L. J. Farwell, Missouri; Hon. C. C. Trowbridge, Michigan; Chas. Fairchild, Esq., Massachusetts; Col. S. V. Shipman, Illinois; Hon. Philo White, LL. D., New York; Hon. Amasa Cobb, Kansas; Samuel H. Hunt, Esq., Newton, N. J.

Corresponding Secretary—Lyman C. Draper, LL. D.

Recording Secretary—Robert M. Bashford.

Treasurer—Hon. A. H. Main.

Librarian—Daniel S. Durrie.

Assistant Librarians—Miss Isabel Durrie and Isaac S. Bradley.

Curators, ex officio—Hon. W. E. Smith, Governor; Hon. H. B. Warner, Secretary of State; Hon. Richard Guenther, State Treasurer; Hon. Alex. Mitchell, Life Director.

For one year—James D. Butler, LL. D., Hon. B. E. Hutchinson, Hon. J. D. Gurnee, N. B. Van Slyke, C. P. Chapman, Hon. H. H. Giles, Isaac Lyon, Prof. J. B. Parkinson, Hon. G. B. Burrows, and Hon. J. A. Johnson.

For two years—Gen. G. P. Delaplaine, Hon. Andrew Proudfit, Hon. S. U. Pinney, Dr. Joseph Hobbins, Hon. E. W. Keyes, Hon. S. D. Hastings, Geo. Raymer, Hon. E. E. Bryant, Samuel Klauber, and Hon. J. C. Gregory.

For three years—Gen. David Atwood, O. M. Conover, LL. D., J. H. Carpenter, LL. D., Col. W. F. Vilas, B. J. Stevens, Prof. W. F. Allen, Hon. H. A. Tenney, Hon. A. B. Braley, Col. Thomas Reynolds, and Prof. R. B. Anderson.

Standing Committees

Library, Purchases and Fixtures—Gov. W. E. Smith, Warner, Guenther, Conover, and Burrows.

Legislative Conference Committee—Keyes, Mills, Pinney, Giles, Braley, Atwood, and Vilas.

Publication—Draper, Butler, Anderson, Atwood, and Bashford.

Auditing Accounts—Mills, Allen, Hastings, Anderson, and Chapman.

Finance—Hastings, Guenther, Van Slyke, Washburn, and Klauber.

Endowment—Orton, Washburn, Proudfit, W. E. Smith, Mills, Van Slyke, Chapman, Burrows, Johnson, Atwood, and Giles.

Literary Exchanges—Durrie, Hobbins, Warner, and Klauber.

Cabinet—Lyon, Allen, Stevens, Keyes, and Durrie.

Natural History—Tenney, Hobbins, Delaplaine, and Stevens.

Printing—Parkinson, Raymer, Atwood, and Carpenter.

Art Gallery—Delaplaine, W. E. Smith, Vilas, Reynolds, Bryant, and Raymer.

Historical Narratives—Pinney, Orton, Tenney, Proudfit, and Hutchinson.

Indian History and Nomenclature—Chapman, Allen, Butler, Stevens, Reynolds, and Gregory.

Lectures and Essays—Parkinson, Butler, Conover, Durrie, and Hutchinson.

Soliciting Committee—Chapman, Hobbins, Braley, Giles, Proudfit, and Johnson.

Annual Address—Burrows, Pinney, Braley, Gurnee, and Gregory.

Membership Nominations—Bashford, Chapman, Vilas, Gurnee, Bryant, and Mills.

Prehistoric Antiquities—Butler, Perkins, Allen, Conover, and Giles.

Loan Committee—Carpenter, Hastings, and Chapman.

Obituaries—Atwood, Draper, Braley, Tenney, and Bashford.

Officers for 1882

President—Hon. C. C. Washburn, LL. D.[1]

Vice-Presidents—Hon. Harlow S. Orton, LL. D., Madison; Hon. Morgan L. Martin, Green Bay; Hon. James T. Lewis, LL. D., Columbus; Hon. James Sutherland, Janesville; Hon. H. D. Barron, St. Croix Falls; Chauncey C. Britt, Esq., Portage City; Hon. John H. Rountree, Platteville; Hon. Simeon Mills, Madison; Hon. J. F. Potter, East Troy Lake; Samuel Marshall, Esq., Milwaukee; Hon. John T. Kingston, Necedah; Hon. John A. Rice, Merton; Hon. Moses M. Strong, Mineral Point; Hon. Thad. C. Pound, Chippewa Falls; Hon. J. J. Guppey, Portage City; Fred. S. Perkins, Esq., Burlington.

Honorary Vice-Presidents—Hon. Cyrus Woodman, Massachusetts; Hon. Geo. W. Bradford, New York; Hon. Perry H. Smith, Illinois; Robert Clarke, Esq., Ohio; Hon. A. C. Dodge, Iowa; Hon. L. J. Farwell, Missouri; Hon. C. C. Trowbridge, Michigan; Chas. Fairchild, Esq., Massachusetts; Col. S. V. Shipman, Illinois; Hon. Philo White, LL. D., New York; Hon. Amasa Cobb, Kansas; Samuel H. Hunt, Esq., Newton, N. J.

Corresponding Secretary—Lyman C. Draper, LL. D.

Recording Secretary—Robert M. Bashford.

Treasurer—Hon. A. H. Main.

Librarian—Daniel S. Durrie.

Assistant Librarians—Miss Isabel Durrie and Isaac S. Bradley.

Curators, ex officio—Hon. J. M. Rusk, Governor; Hon. E. G. Timme, Secretary of State; Hon. E. C. McFetridge, State Treasurer, and Hon. Alexander Mitchell, Life Director.

For one year—Gen. G. P. Delaplaine, Hon. Andrew Proudfit, Hon. S. U. Pinney, Dr. Joseph Hobbins, Hon. E. W. Keyes, Hon. S. D. Hastings, Geo. Raymer, Hon. E. E. Bryant, Samuel Klauber, and Hon. J. C. Gregory.

For two years—Gen. David Atwood, O. M. Conover, LL. D., J. H. Carpenter, LL. D., Col. Wm. F. Vilas, B. J. Stevens, Prof. W. F. Allen, Hon. H. A. Tenney, Hon. A. B. Braley, Col. Thomas Reynolds, and Prof. R. B. Anderson.

---

[1] Died at Eureka Springs, Kansas, May 14, 1882.

For three years—James D. Butler, LL. D., Hon. B. E. Hutchinson, Hon. J. D. Gurnee, N. B. Van Slyke, C. P. Chapman, Hon. H. H. Giles, Isaac Lyon, Prof. J. B. Parkinson, Hon. G. B. Burrows, and Hon. J. A. Johnson.

Standing Committees

Library, Purchases and Fixtures—Gov. J. M. Rusk, Timme, McFetridge, Conover, and Burrows.

Legislative Conference Committee—Keyes, Mills, Pinney, Giles, Braley, Atwood, and Vilas.

Publication—Draper, Butler, Anderson, Atwood, and Bashford.

Auditing Accounts—Hastings, Mills, Allen, Anderson, and Chapman.

Finance—Hastings, McFetridge, Van Slyke, Washburn, and Klauber.

Endowment—Orton, Washburn, Proudfit, Rusk, Mills, Van Slyke, Chapman, Burrows, Johnson, Atwood, and Giles.

Literary Exchanges—Durrie, Hobbins, Timme, and Klauber.

Cabinet—Lyon, Allen, Stevens, Keyes, and Durrie.

Natural History—Tenney, Hobbins, Delaplaine, and Stevens.

Printing—Parkinson, Raymer, Atwood, and Carpenter.

Art Gallery—Delaplaine, Rusk, Vilas, Reynolds, Bryant, and Raymer.

Historical Narratives—Pinney, Orton, Tenney, Proudfit, and Hutchinson.

Indian History and Nomenclature—Chapman, Butler, Allen, Stevens, Reynolds, and Gregory.

Lectures and Essays—Parkinson, Butler, Conover, Durrie, and Hutchinson.

Soliciting Committee—Chapman, Hobbins, Braley, Giles, Proudfit, and Johnson.

Annual Address—Burrows, Pinney, Braley, Gurnee, and Gregory.

Membership Nominations—Bashford, Chapman, Vilas, Gurnee, Bryant, and Mills.

Prehistoric Antiquities—Butler, Perkins, Allen, Conover, and Giles.

Loan Committee—Carpenter, Hastings, and Chapman.

Obituaries—Atwood, Draper, Braley, Tenney, and Bashford.

Synopsis of Annual Reports of Executive Committee

Twenty-sixth Report—January 6, 1880

With the same purchasing means, and our system of exchanges, the annual growth of the Library is quite uniform from year to year. It is only on rare occasions that some unusually large book or pamphlet donations, like those of Mrs. C. L. A. Tank, Hon. Charles Durkee, and the Lapham estate, swell the year's additions beyond the ordinary proportions. The book department has, during the past year, been increased with a rich variety of works—and especially large in the line of local American history, periodical literature, genealogy, and newspaper files of the last, and early part of the present century. The manuscript historical papers have been of a varied and important character, illustrative of early Wisconsin and Northwestern history, dating back an hundred and thirty years; beside several valuable papers on our prehistoric period. We have, on the whole, good reason to be satisfied with the year's gatherings in books, pamphlets, newspaper files, and manuscript additions to our history.

Financial Condition—Binding Fund

The past year's receipts into the general fund, including the small balance of the previous year, were, as shown by the treasurer's report, $5,101.17; and the disbursements, $5,093.09, leaving an unexpended balance of $8.08.

To the binding fund the following additions have been made: From Hon. John A. Rice, $50; Prof. J. H. Carpenter, LL. D., $20; duplicate books sold, $247.66; accrued interest, $533.07; annual membership dues, net, $70.00—thus showing an increase

of $920.73, and making the total present amount of this important fund, $7,445.22.

The 640 acres of Texas land left us by the late Hon. John Catlin, and the bequest of $1,000 by the late Hon. Stephen Taylor, to become available to the Society after Mrs. Taylor's death, will eventually prove noble additions to this fund.

The annual increase of the binding fund, since its inception in 1867, is shown by the following table:

Date.	Increase.	Total.
January, 1867	.....	$100 00
January, 1868	$8 10	108 10
January, 1869	64 63	172 73
January, 1870	195 79	368 55
January, 1871	89 55	458 07
January, 1872	198 31	656 38
January, 1873	173 43	829 81
January, 1874	973 78	1,803 59
January, 1875	921 02	2,724 61
January, 1876	1,343 82	4,068 43
January, 1877	731 98	4,800 41
January, 1878	795 10	5,595 51
January, 1879	928 98	6,524 49
January, 1880	920 73	7,445 22

When this fund reaches not less than $15,000, then its income for binding purposes will make a marked annual improvement in both the appearance and convenience of our Library. We renewedly plead with our friends, especially those within the bounds of Wisconsin, to remember this useful and much-needed object; and share in making it the blessing it is destined to become to our Society, and the people of our State, for all coming time.

Library Additions

The additions to the Library during the year past have been 2,050 volumes; of which 1,210 were by purchase, and 840 by donation, and binding of newspaper files; and 3,027 pamphlets and documents, of which 197 were obtained by purchase, and the remainder by donation and mounted newspaper cuttings. Of the book additions 377 were folios, and 236 quartos—increasing the number of folios in the Library to 3,131, and the quartos to 3,431, and both together to 6,572.

Progressive Library Increase

The past and present condition of the Library is shown in the following table:

Date.	Volumes added.	Documents and pamphlets.	Both together.	Total in library.
1854, January 1	50	.....	50	50
1855, January 2	1,000	1,000	2,000	2,050
1856, January 1	1,065	2,000	3,065	5,115
1857, January 6	1,005	300	1,305	6,420
1858, January 1	1,024	959	1,983	8,403
1859, January 4	1,107	500	1,607	10,010
1860, January 3	1,800	723	2,523	12,533
1861, January 2	837	1,134	1,971	14,504
1862, January 2	610	711	1,321	15,825
1863, January 2	544	2,373	2,917	18,742
1864, January 2	248	356	604	19,346
1865, January 3	520	226	746	20,092
1866, January 2	368	806	1,174	21,266
1867, January 3	923	2,811	3,734	25,000
1868, January 4	5,462	1,043	6,505	31,505
1869, January 1	2,838	682	3,520	35,025
1870, January 4	923	6,240	7,163	42,188
1871, January 3	1,970	1,372	3,342	45,530
1872, January 2	1,211	3,789	5,000	50,530
1873, January 2	2,166	1,528	3,694	54,224
1874, January 2	1,852	1,178	3,030	57,254
1875, January 2	1,945	1,186	3,131	60,385
1876, January 4	2,851	1,764	4,615	65,000
1877, January 2	2,820	2,336	5,156	70,156
1878, January 2	1,818	5,090	6,908	77,064
1879, January 3	2,214	1,827	4,041	81,105
1880, January 6	2,050	3,027	5,077	86,182
	41,221	44,961	86,182	.....

Library Additions—Summary

	Vols.
American Patents	14
American History and Travel	94
American Local History	113
American Revolutionary War History	22
American Indians	13
State Histories and Documents	146
United States Documents and Surveys	113
Slavery and Civil War	38
Great Britain	77
Canada	45
Magazines and Reviews	192
Historical and Learned Societies	22
American Biography	59
Foreign Biography	57
Genealogy	102

Foreign History and Literature	49
Antiquities and Archæology	18
Mexico	30
Cyclopedias and Dictionaries	26
Language and Literature	17
Bibliography	14
Political Economy, etc.	16
Politics and Government	22
Religious History, etc.	60
Education	11
Science	55
Secret Societies	8
Directories	71
Poetry and Fiction	13
Almanacs and Registers	65
Voyages and Travels	19
Bound Newspaper Files	370
Atlases	13
Shakespeareana	23
Fine Arts	17
Australia	8
Junius	2
Miscellaneous	16
	2,050

Bound Newspaper Files.—The following additions indicate their number, and the period of their publication:

	Years.	*Vols.*
Boston, New England Courant	1722	1
Boston Gazette	1725	1
Boston Gazette	1726	1
Boston Gazette	1727	1
New England Weekly Journal	1727	1
Boston Gazette	1717–28	1
Boston Gazette	1728	1
Boston Gazette	1729	1
Boston Gazette	1730	1
New England Weekly Journal	1730	1
Boston Gazette	1731	1
Boston Gazette	1731–32	1
Boston Gazette	1736	1
New England Weekly Journal	1738	1
Boston Gazette	1741	1
Boston Evening Post	1741	1
Boston Gazette	1747	1
Boston Gazette	1748	1
Boston Gazette	1749	1
Boston Independent Advertiser	1749	1
Boston News Letter	1750–59	1
Boston Evening Post	1750–75	1
Boston Gazette	1753–55	1
Boston Gazette	1755	1
Boston Gazette	1756	1
Boston Gazette	1757	1
Boston Gazette	1758	1
Boston Gazette	1759	1
Boston Gazette	1760	1
Boston Evening Post	1765–66	1
Boston Gazette	1767–89	1

Boston Continental Journal	1785–86	1
Boston American Herald	1785–87	3
Boston Columbian Centinel	1791	1
Boston Columbian Centinel	1795	1
Boston Columbian Centinel	1797	1
New York Daily Advertiser	1799–1800	1
Washington National Intelligencer	1804	1
Hanover, N. H., Literary Tablet	1805–07	2
Boston Repertory	1805–09	5
Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser	1807–09, 11	3
Boston Patriot	1810–11	1
Hartford, Conn., Courant	1810–13	2
Alexandria, Va., Herald	1810–12	2
Alexandria, Va., Herald	1815–19	4
Alexandria, Va., Herald	1821–26	4
Boston News Letter	1826–27	1
New York Albion	1828–47	20
Richmond, Va., Enquirer	1829–30	2
Albany Zodiac	1835–36	1
Cincinnati, The Axe	1840	1
Washington Spectator	1842–44	2
Cincinnati People's Paper	1845	1
Hogg's Weekly Instructor	1845–47	6
Congressional Globe	1849–50	2
Middleton, N. Y., Sybil	1856–64	3
Harper's Weekly	1857–76	20
Boston Index	1873–77	5
St. Louis Journal of Education	1874–78	1
London Saturday Review	1875–76	4
Chicago Standard	1876–77	1
Milwaukee Commercial Times	1876–78	3
Chicago North Western Lumberman	1876–78	3
Cincinnati Gazette	1876–78	2
New York Nation	1876–79	7
Congressional Record	1877	1
Chicago Railroad Gazette	1877–78	2
Chicago Daily Times	1878–79	4
Chicago Daily Tribune	1878–79	4
New York World	1878–79	3
New York Tribune	1878–79	4
Wisconsin Daily and Weekly papers	1836–79	205
		370

These additions make the total number of bound newspaper files of the seventeenth century, 64 volumes; of the eighteenth, 434; of the present century, 2,884; grand total, 3,382.

The additions of the past year alone would be regarded by any public library as an exceedingly rich collection; many of the earlier ones, from 1722 to 1789, were purchased at the sale of the library of the late J. Wingate Thornton, of Boston, who had devoted many years to their procurement. Our newspaper department, it is believed, is not exceeded in number or value by any

similar collection in the country, save that of the Library of Congress.

Autographs.—Signers of the Declaration of Independence: Elbridge Gerry, autograph letter signed, 1814; George Clymer, do., 1799; John Penn, do., 1788; Robt. Morris, do., 1795; Francis Hopkinson, letter signed, 1777; Josiah Bartlett, document signed, 1766; Robt. Treat Paine, do., n. d.; Thos. Stone, do., 1785; Geo. Taylor, do., 1775; Wm. Paca, signature, 1783.

Signers of Federal Constitution: Chas. Pinckney, autograph letter signed, n. d.; Abraham Baldwin, do., 1791; Jas. McHenry, do., n. d.; Thos. Fitzsimmons, do., 1786; Jas. Madison, do., 1823; David Brearley, do., 1783; Pierce Butler, do., 1808; Jonathan Dayton, do., 1808; John Dickinson, do., 1788; Wm. Few, do., 1790; Jared Ingersoll, do., 1789; John Langdon, do., 1809; Wm. Paterson, do., 1783; Hugh Williamson, do., 1778; Will. Livingston, document signed, 1799.

There are now received by the Society 247 periodicals—24 more than last year; of which 5 are quarterlies, 12 monthlies, 4 semi-monthlies, 211 weeklies, 1 semi-weekly, and 14 dailies, of which 220 are Wisconsin publications.

Additions to the Cabinet

Prehistoric Implements.—A copper implement six inches wide, hollowed out for a haft, sides turned up, with a cutting edge at one end—a fine specimen, from D. D. McMillan, La Crosse, through Hon. W. C. Whitford; it was found in 1860 or 1861, within thirty feet of La Crosse River, while excavating for city gas works, on Third street and near the Mississippi, two feet under surface, and two others of same kind found there at same time. A fine copper spear with tank, nine inches long, found on southeast quarter of section 4, town 22, range 14 east, Northport, Waupaca County, by Barney Hagar, on his farm. A copper, round pointed spear-head, two and one-half inches long, found by William McQueen, half way up north bank of Little Wolf River, in a sand bank fifty feet high, near the school-house, on southeast quarter section 8, town 22, range 14 east, presented by Isaac M. Brown, Northport. Stone hammer, weighing eleven and one-half

pounds from Aztec copper mine, Ontonagon County, Michigan, found in the ancient Indian diggings, one mile in length, after clearing out native copper in masses from one to five tons, also five and one-half pound stone axe, broken from the mass copper mine, Ontonagon, found in old Indian diggings, after clearing out twenty tons native copper in masses, from D. Beaser.

Other Antiquities.—A smoke colored flint arrow-head, two and one-half inches long, with cutting on the lower part for attachment, from Ole H. Furness, Vienna, Dane Co., Wis. Fossils from quarries in town of New Glarus, Green Co., Wis., from Andrew Strebi. A twenty pound cannon ball, taken from beneath the ruins, five feet, of old Fort Ticonderoga, N. Y., a relic of the attack of Gen. Abercrombie, in 1759; found and presented by H. L. Broughton, Milwaukee. Variety of antiquities of burnt and dried clay, ornamental pieces, pottery, obsidian knives, two stone arrow-heads, one stone weapon with handle, used for defense; specimens of wheat, coffee, and dried fruit, from Mexico and adjacent country, collected and presented by Hon. John A. Rice, Merton, Wis.; also, from Senator Rice, a plaster cast, reduced, of the celebrated "Mexican calendar stone." Small stone axe grooved, from Mrs. Lizzie Van Patten, Cooksville, Rock Co., Wis. Flint arrow-head, from J. S. Halvedt, Trempealeau, Wis.

To the art gallery has been added a portrait in oil of David Hyer, an early Wisconsin pioneer, presented by Mrs. Anna Ward, of California.

Manuscript Collections.—In addition to several papers given in the viiith vol. of our *Collections,* are the following:

Recollections of Upper Mississippi Country, 1817–41, by Mrs. Adele P. Gratiot.

Congress granting citizenship to Brothertown Indians, 1839.

Thomas Commuck and other Brothertowns on the Condition of their People, 1839.

Personal Narrative of Gen. John Crawford, communicated by H. W. Bleyer.

Data for Sketch of Col. Agostin Haraszthy, communicated by Aspard Haraszthy.

Personal Narrative of Early Times in Milwaukee, by Hon. Enoch Chase.

As there seems to be some misapprehension in the public mind as to the relationship existing between this Society and the State, it may be well to make a brief explanation. It is a very simple question when properly understood. Chapter 24 of the Revised Statutes expressly declares that the "*Society shall be the trustee of the State;* and, as such, shall faithfully expend and apply all money received from the State to the uses and purposes directed by law, *and shall hold all its present and future collections and property for the State;*" and then goes on to prohibit the Society from selling, mortgaging, or transferring, or in any manner removing from the capitol any article without the consent of the legislature, except the sale or exchange of duplicates. The Governor, secretary of state and state treasurer shall be *ex officio* members of the executive committee, and take care that the interests of the State are protected. These State officers compose a majority of the library committee, who direct and order the purchase of books.

If, then, the Society is *the trustee of the State,* and holds all its present and future collections and property *for the State,* can the matter of ownership be for a moment doubted?

It is a painful reflection, that we have so frequently of late been deprived of the fellowship and counsel of worthy associates in this board. Last year we were called upon to lament the death of Prof. S. H. Carpenter; and now we have to deplore the departure of Judge L. B. Vilas, Gen. G. B. Smith, and Gen. H. C. Bull—all early laborers in the Society's behalf, serving it long and well in our annual and committee meetings, and in the halls of legislation.

Judge Vilas was elected a life member of the Society in January, 1856; contributed his portrait to our picture gallery; and was chosen a member of the executive committee in 1866, serving in that capacity till his death, always evincing a warm interest in the Society.

Gen. Smith became a member of the Society in 1854, and a member of the executive committee in 1861, serving nearly nineteen consecutive years in the board, and rendering the Society

many and varied services, especially in matters connected with legislation.

Gen. Bull was chosen a life member of the Society, and a member of the executive committee in January, 1856, holding his place in the board until his removal from Madison, in 1859; he contributed to our picture gallery an oil painting of Wisconsin Heights battlefield, executed by Brooks; and for the past three years he has filled the position of one of the honorary vice-presidents of our Society.

While dropping a tear in remembrance of departed worth, we find much both to encourage and stimulate us to renewed efforts for the prosperity and usefulness of one of the best of our public institutions—one which, in the language of Hon. Cyrus Woodman, "adds to the glory, not of Wisconsin alone, but of our whole country."

Twenty-seventh Report—January 3, 1881

The year 1880 has added something more than the average annual accretion to the Library. The noticeable increase is particularly apparent in works on American local history, State histories and documents, slavery and the Civil War, publications of historical and learned societies, magazines and reviews, bound newspaper files, antiquities and archæological science, genealogy, maps and atlases. These and many other departments may be regarded as strong for the size of the Library; and continue to attract the attention of antiquaries and writers in our own and other States, who not unfrequently find it to their advantage to consult our collections either personally or by written applications.

Financial Condition—Binding Fund

The receipts in the general fund the past year, including the small balance of the previous year, were, as shown by the treasurer's report, $5,008.08; and the disbursements, $5,008.08.

To the binding fund the following additions have been made: From Col. C. C. G. Thornton, and Maj. F. W. Oakley, $20 each; Hon. G. H. Paul, $10; duplicate books sold, $222.77; accrued

interest, $509.90; annual membership dues, $106—thus showing an increase of $888.67, and making the total present amount of this important fund, $8,333.89.

When the Catlin gift of 640 acres of Texas land, and the Taylor bequest of $1,000, shall become available, they will aid very materially in rendering this fund the perpetual blessing it is destined to prove to this Society and its noble Library.

The annual increase of the binding fund since its inception in 1867, is shown by the following table:

Date.	Increase.	Total.
January, 1867	.....	$100 00
January, 1868	$8 10	108 10
January, 1869	64 63	172 73
January, 1870	195 79	368 52
January, 1871	89 55	458 07
January, 1872	198 31	656 38
January, 1873	173 43	829 81
January, 1874	973 78	1,803 59
January, 1875	921 02	2,724 61
January, 1876	1,343 82	4,068 43
January, 1877	731 98	4,800 41
January, 1878	795 10	5,595 51
January, 1879	928 98	6,524 49
January, 1880	920 73	7,445 22
January, 1881	888 67	8,333 89

When this fund reaches $15,000, its income devoted to binding purposes will render many books, magazines, pamphlets and manuscripts available that are now tied up, awaiting the good time coming. Meanwhile, let every well wisher of the Society present his offering to the binding fund, be it ever so small, with the assurance that it will for ages do good service to the cause of literature and science.

Library Additions

The additions to the Library during the past year have been 1,884 volumes; of which 1,382 were by purchase, and 502 by donation and binding of newspaper files; and 2,707 pamphlets and documents, of which 1,382 were obtained by purchase, and of the remainder, 1,283 were by donation, and 42 by mounted

newspaper cuttings. Of the book additions, 81 were folios, and 233 quartos,—increasing the number of folios in the Library to 3,212, and the quartos to 3,664, and both together to 6,876.

Progressive Library Increase

The past and present condition of the library is shown in the following table:

Date.	Volumes added.	Documents and pamphlets.	Both together.	Total in Library.
1854, January 1	50	.....	50	50
1855, January 2	1,000	1,000	2,000	2,050
1856, January 1	1,065	2,000	3,065	5,115
1857, January 6	1,005	300	1,305	6,420
1858, January 1	1,024	959	1,983	8,403
1859, January 4	1,107	500	1,607	10,010
1860, January 3	1,800	723	2,523	12,533
1861, January 2	837	1,134	1,971	14,504
1862, January 2	610	711	1,321	15,825
1863, January 2	544	2,373	2,917	18,742
1864, January 2	248	356	604	19,346
1865, January 3	520	226	746	20,092
1866, January 2	368	806	1,174	21,266
1867, January 3	923	2,811	3,734	25,000
1868, January 4	5,462	1,043	6,505	31,505
1869, January 1	2,838	682	3,520	35,025
1870, January 4	923	6,240	7,163	42,188
1871, January 3	1,970	1,372	3,342	45,530
1872, January 2	1,211	3,789	5,000	50,530
1873, January 2	2,166	1,528	3,694	54,224
1874, January 2	1,852	1,178	3,030	57,254
1875, January 2	1,945	1,186	3,131	60,385
1876, January 4	2,851	1,764	4,615	65,000
1877, January 2	2,820	2,336	5,156	70,156
1878, January 2	1,818	5,090	6,908	77,064
1879, January 3	2,214	1,827	4,041	81,105
1880, January 6	2,050	3,027	5,077	86,182
1881, January 3	1,884	2,707	4,591	90,773
	43,105	47,668	90,773	.....

Library Additions—Summary

	Vols.
American Patents	12
British Patents	109
American History and Travel	54
American Local History	112
American Revolutionary War History	16
American Indians	15
State Histories and Documents	140
United States Documents and Surveys	215

Slavery and Civil War	100
Canada	3
Magazines and Reviews	183
Historical and Learned Societies	63
American Biography	38
Foreign Biography	29
Genealogy	48
Foreign History and Literature	148
Antiquities and Archæology	16
Mexico	9
Cyclopedias and Dictionaries	42
Language and Literature	21
Bibliography	20
Political Economy, etc.	2
Politics and Government	19
Religious History, etc.	63
Education	10
Science	48
Secret Societies	1
Directories	54
Poetry and Fiction	2
Almanacs and Registers	5
Voyages and Travels	11
Bound Newspaper Files	84
Atlases	26
Shakespeareana	120
Fine Arts	3
Junius	2
Miscellaneous	34
Mythology	7
	1,884

An important addition to the sources of investigation of early French exploration of the Northwest, is the essay on Jolliet's map of New France of 1674, by Gabriel Gravier, president of the Geographical Society of Normandy, published in the French *Geographical Review* of February, 1880, with a facsimile of Jolliet's map.

By the addition of 48 volumes on genealogy, the total number of works in that department is now 713—one of the largest collections of its kind in the country, and is largely consulted by our people.

Language and its Literature.—Portions of Scriptures in Chippewa, Dakota, and other Indian languages, v. d., 18 vols.; Pentateuch in Esquimaux language, 1841; Adams' *Studies in Six Amer. Languages,* 1874; Wilson's *Ojebeway Language,* 1874, 4to.

The addition of 26 atlases and 37 maps brings the whole number of maps and atlases now in the Library up to 820, some of

them, two or three centuries old, serve as valuable aids in early historical investigation.

Bound Newspaper Files.—The following additions indicate their number, and the period of their publication:

	Years.	*Vols.*
Boston Independent Chronicle	1799	1
Boston, New England Palladium	1801	1
Boston Republican Gazetteer	1803	1
Boston Repertory	1810	1
Chillicothe, O., Weekly Recorder	1814–17	4
Church Register	1826–7	2
Cincinnati, O., Pandect Journal	1828–31	3
Cincinnati, O., Standard	1831–4	1
New Yorker	1837–41	3
American Masonic Register	1839–41	1
The Corsair, a Gazette of Literature	1839–40	1
Flushing, L. I., Church Register	1840–1	1
Buffalo, N. Y., Daily Commercial Advertiser	1844–7	3
American Railroad Journal	1845–54	10
Fond du Lac, Wis., Whig	1846–7	1
Frank Leslie's Newspaper	1861–5	4
New Orleans, La., Delta	1862–3	1
Boston Boatswain's Whistle	1864	1
Congressional Globe	1871–2	7
Congressional Record	1877–8	9
New York World	1879–80	3
New York Tribune	1879–80	3
Chicago Times	1879–80	3
Chicago Tribune	1879–80	3
Milwaukee News	1879–80	2
Milwaukee Sentinel	1879–80	3
Madison, Wisconsin State Journal	1879–80	2
Madison, Wis., Daily Democrat	1879–80	2
Janesville Gazette	1879–80	2
Beloit Free Press	1879	1
Janesville Recorder	1879	1
Milwaukee Signal	1879	1
New York Nation	1879–80	2
		84

These additions make the total number of bound newspaper files of the seventeenth century 64 volumes; of the eighteenth, 435; of the present century, 2,967; grand total, 3,466.

There are now received by the Society 247 periodicals; of which 7 are quarterlies, 15 monthlies, 4 semi-monthlies, 206 weeklies, 1 semi-weekly, and 14 dailies, of which 217 are Wisconsin publications.

Autographs.—Signers of the Declaration of Independence: John Hancock, document signed, 1767; Abram Clark, autograph letter signed, 1794; William Whipple, do., 1779; John Morton, sig.; Matt. Thornton, document signed, 1777; Geo. Ross, do.,

1764; Oliver Wolcott, letter signed, 1797; Wm. Paca, autograph letter signed, 1772; Sam'l Huntington, do., 1785; Francis Lightfoot Lee, do., 1771; Lewis Morris, letter signed, 1790; Chas. Carroll, autograph letter signed, 1775; Sam'l Chase, do., 1785; Jas. Wilson, document signed, 1792; Benj. Harrison, autograph letter signed, 1788; Thos. Heyward, Jr., signature, 1788; Stephen Hopkins, document signed, 1761; Edw. Rutledge, do., 1795; Jas. Smith, autograph letter signed, 1779; John Witherspoon, do., 1785; Benj. Franklin, do., 1770; Thos. Jefferson, do., 1814; John Hancock, do., 1770; Benj. Rush, do., 1796; Jas. Wilson, do., 1792; Geo. Walton, document signed, 1784; Rob't Treat Paine, do., n. d.

Signers of Federal Constitution: Dan'l of St. Thomas Jenifer, autograph letter signed, 1785; Chas. C. Pinckney, do., 1815; Rich'd Bassett, do., 1811; Jacob Broom, do., 1807; Geo. Clymer, do., 1799; John Rutledge, do., 1778; Jas. Wilson, do., 1793.

The manuscript collections for the year have been limited to a few, but valuable contributions:

1. Journal of James McCall, one of the commissioners appointed to locate a district of country near Green Bay for the New York Indians in 1830; together with a copy of the secretary of war's instructions to the commissioners, and a memoir of the writer. From A. J. McCall.

2. Two account books kept by Ebenezer Brigham at the Blue Mounds, in 1828; list of soldiers at the Blue Mound fort during the Black Hawk War in 1832, with a memorandum of the current events of the time, kept by an occupant of the garrison. Deposited by J. R. Brigham and H. G. Bliss.

3. Sketch of Col. Wm. S. Hamilton, a Wisconsin pioneer, by his brother, Philip Hamilton.

Antiquities.—A small copper coffee pot, with date of 1712 on it, presented by A. Harseim, of town of Madison, the same having been in the family from that date; also a pewter platter, dated 1783, from the same. A small earthern image found among the ruins of the city of Uyalceh, Yucatan—supposed made by Toltecs—found in the outskirts of the city, where large trees are growing in the ruins of palaces, from Col. C. C. G. Thornton.

Number of pieces of pottery found in Portage Co., Wis., on Sec. 16, T. 24, R. 9, presented by John McGreer. Part of stone pipe, found in town of Farmington, Waupaca Co., Wis., 1880, about eighteen or twenty feet below the surface, in digging a well, by Ole Rasmussen, and presented by him through Ole R. Olson.

Art Gallery.—An elegant large-sized portrait of Hon. M. M. Jackson, in heavy gilt frame, painted by L. S. Custer, Boston, and presented by Judge Jackson. He was one of the early and meritorious pioneers of Wisconsin, serving as Territorial attorney-general from 1841 to 1845, and one of the judges of the circuit and supreme court from 1848 to 1853, and, since 1861, consul general of the British maritime provinces, stationed at Halifax. Crayon portrait, life-size, neatly framed, of Hon. W. T. Price, one of the early settlers and prominent legislators of Wisconsin, from Judge Price. Crayon portrait, in gilt frame, of Hon. T. T. Whittlesey, member of Congress from Connecticut, and of the State senate of Wisconsin, painted by his daughter, Miss Caroline Whittlesey, who presented it to the Society. Fine cabinet sized photograph of Col. Wm. S. Hamilton, an early settler of Wisconsin, handsomely framed, from his brother, Philip Hamilton, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; same of Dr. Enoch Chase of Milwaukee, neatly framed, from Dr. Chase; same of Hon. H. Rublee, handsome ornamented frame, from Mr. Rublee; same of Hon. G. E. Emory, Lynn, Mass., from Mr. Emory. Photograph of Rev. Rob't Sewall, an early missionary preacher in Wisconsin, from his daughter. Photograph of Indian chief Shaubena, died July, 1859, from O. D. Bond. Photograph of an Ivory Crucifix, which was presented by Francis I, emperor of Austria, 1828, to the Ligorian Fathers who established themselves at Green Bay in 1832. The Crucifix was carved by Francis Duquesnoy, of Brussels, in the seventeenth century, and photographed at Madison, 1880, presented by Prof. J. D. Butler. Photograph of Massachusetts charter, 1628–29, presented by David Pulsifer, Boston.

It is only when we contrast the yearly expenditure for the Library proper of our Society, with that of the other public libraries of the country, that we can realize how much is accomplished

with our limited resources. The Astor Library has an annual income, from its invested funds, of over $27,000. The Chicago public library expends nearly $50,000 a year—of which $20,000 is for books; $16,500 for salaries; and $3,500 for binding and repairing books; while the Boston Public Library expends altogether some $60,000 annually.

For our Library not to exceed $3,700 is yearly expended for books; $4,600 for salaries; and some $800 for binding. Few reference libraries in the country have more readers than ours—numbering many thousands annually. Those only who watch and observe how many works are constantly inquired for, which our Library does not possess, can realize to some extent, that while it is rendering untold benefits to our people, yet how much *more good* it could accomplish, if it enjoyed liberal endowments and larger purchasing resources.

It is to be hoped, that at no distant day we may have a fitting Library Hall for our present and prospective literary treasures; and that not a few of our wealthy and liberal-hearted citizens will, with wise forethought, bestow a generous portion of their means upon our Society, where it may unceasingly perform its noble mission of inculcating knowledge among our people.

If incentives are needed for such generosity, and the fostering of such an institution, it may be found in the following disinterested notice from the Louisville *Monthly Magazine,* for June, 1879:

"The State Historical Society of Wisconsin is a good example of what can be done by systematic, persevering work in the establishment of a Library. It presents imposing strength. It has overcome all obstacles, and can now be safely assured of its prosperity as long as the State of Wisconsin exists. Its enemies in its infancy can now recognize it as one of the most potent agencies that have made Wisconsin a great State in—how few years! We unhesitatingly declare it a greater honor to have been identified in promoting the welfare of such a Society than any to be obtained in political life. All honor to Wisconsin!"

And, may we not be permitted to add—*all honor and gratitude to our Society's benefactors!*

Twenty-eighth Report, January 3, 1882

During the twenty-eight years of the Society's practical existence, only three of them have shown any unusual additions to its Library. In 1867, Mrs. Tank, of Fort Howard, generously presented the Society with the very valuable collection of ancient and modern classical and historical literature, some 5,000 volumes—the lifetime gathering of her father, a worthy clergyman of Holland. At an earlier period, the late Hon. Charles Durkee donated at one time nearly twelve hundred pamphlets; and a valuable collection of over fourteen hundred pamphlets were bestowed by the heirs of the late Dr. I. A. Lapham. But ordinarily our yearly additions are not swelled by large gifts. They are made up by purchases, donated newspaper files, exchanges, and small donations of books and pamphlets from widely scattered individuals and institutions. The year past has been no exception of the general rule.

Financial Condition—Binding Fund

The receipts the past year into the general fund have been the annual appropriation of $5,000, and the disbursements the same.

To the binding fund the following additions have been made: Hon. Cyrus Woodman, Hon. Philetus Sawyer, and Samuel Marshall, $50 each, and $20 from Hon. J. G. Thorp—total donations, $170; accrued interest, $571.66; duplicate books sold, $175.90; annual membership dues, $116—thus showing an increase from these several sources of $1,033.56, and making the present amount of this important fund $9,367.45. In but a single year have the additions to this fund exceeded those of the past twelve months.

The several donors, with the amounts of their contributions, have been as follows:

Hon. Alexander Mitchell	$750 00
Hon. C. C. Washburn	300 00
Samuel Marshall, Esq.	200 00
Hon. Cyrus Woodman	150 00
Rev. R. M. Hodges, D. D.	140 00
Hon. John Catlin	100 00
Hon. G. W. Allen	100 00
Charles Fairchild, Esq.	100 00
Hon. Andrew Proudfit	100 00
Hon. Philetus Sawyer	100 00

Hon. James Sutherland	75 00
Hon. John F. Potter	50 00
Hon. Stephen Taylor	50 00
Hon. James T. Lewis	50 00
Col. Richard Dunbar	50 00
Terrill Thomas	50 00
Gen. J. J. Guppey	50 00
Hon. M. H. Carpenter	50 00
Hon. G. W. Bradford	50 00
Hon. John A. Rice	50 00
S. Alofson	25 00
W. B. Champion	20 00
T. Laidler	20 00
Col. Thos. Reynolds	20 00
Col. C. P. Chapman	20 00
Hon. R. H. Baker	20 00
Hon. Gerrit Smith	20 00
Hon. Wm. Plocker	20 00
"A Friend"	20 00
Hon. E. D. Holton	20 00
J. H. Carpenter, LL. D.	20 00
Col. C. C. G. Thornton	20 00
Maj. F. W. Oakley	20 00
Hon. J. G. Thorp	20 00
Hon. Philo White	12 50
Gen. John Lawler	10 00
Hon. G. H. Paul	10 00
Miss Clara M. Stevens	5 00
Mrs. L. M. Thomas	5 00
W. F. Sanders	2 00
Hon. Geo. Gary	2 00
J. B. Holbrook	2 00
C. M. Thurston	1 50
F. T. Haseltine	1 00
H. N. Nicholsen	1 00
Hon. E. N. Foster	1 00
Dr. A. S. McDill	75
Donations	$2,903 75
Accrued interest, 1867–81	3,410 34
Duplicate books sold	2,255 91
Membership fees, net	797 45
Total	$9,367 45

The annual increase of the binding fund since its inception in 1867, is shown by the following table:

Date.	Increase.	Total.
January, 1867	. .	$100 00
January, 1868	$8 10	108 10
January, 1869	64 63	172 73
January, 1870	195 79	368 52
January, 1871	89 55	458 07
January, 1872	198 31	656 38
January, 1873	173 43	829 81
January, 1874	973 78	1,803 59
January, 1875	921 02	2,724 61
January, 1876	1,343 82	4,068 43
January, 1877	731 98	4,800 41
January, 1878	795 10	5,595 51
January, 1879	928 98	6,524 49
January, 1880	920 73	7,445 22
January, 1881	888 67	8,333 89
January, 1882	1,033 56	9,367 45

Besides this amount of $9,367.45, the Texas land gift of the late John Catlin, and the bequest of the late Stephen Taylor, have not yet become available. They may be expected to add, eventually, about two thousand dollars to the fund.

When the Library was in its infancy, and money could be invested at ten per cent. interest, we thought that a binding fund of five thousand dollars might be made to subserve all our binding purposes; but time gradually dissipated that error. We next placed it at ten thousand dollars; then at fifteen thousand; but now as the Library is expanding so rapidly, and interest depreciating, we must fix the amount at not less than twenty-five thousand.

With enlarged quarters for our collections, increasing with such accelerated strides—a necessity so apparent that it cannot much longer be postponed—we shall need a large amount of binding, that has been steadily accumulating almost from the formation of our Library. We have thousands of pamphlets, and numberless books, magazines, reviews, maps and manuscripts that are sadly in need of binding; and some of them cannot much longer be delayed.

It will be seen, that less than one-third of our binding fund has been the result of direct donations; over two-thirds having

been the product of fifteen years of accrued interest, sales of duplicates, and membership fees.

A few thoughtful, generous-hearted friends of the Society contribute from time to time to this fund. Would that we could stir up others to do so. Next to a new building, an adequate binding fund is the greatest need of the Society. Who will come to its aid?

It is far from flattering to our State pride when we contrast the little pittance bestowed upon our Society for the endowment of its binding fund, with the estimated thirty millions of dollars given by individuals within the past thirty years, for the public libraries of this country. Our people are abundantly able to make up the remainder of this greatly needed twenty-five thousand dollars binding fund. For the credit of our State, and the benefit of our rising generations, let us fondly hope that this struggling fund will be speedily completed.

Library Additions

The additions to the Library during the past year have been 2,741 volumes; of which 1,907 were by purchase, and 834 by donation and binding of newspaper files; and 1,486 pamphlets and documents, of which 149 were obtained by purchase, and of the remainder, 1,270 were by donation, and 67 by mounted newspaper cuttings. Of the book additions, 378 were folios, and 224 quartos, increasing the number of folios in the Library to 3,590, and the quartos to 3,888, and both together to 7,478.

The strength of the Library is best shown by reference to the number of volumes in several of our important departments of collection: Bound newspaper files, 3,772, British Patent Reports, 3,887; American Patent Reports, 242—together, 4,129; atlases and maps, 841; genealogy and heraldry, 760; Shakespeareana, bound volumes, 290, pamphlets, 50—together, 340, including Halliwell's magnificent work in sixteen folio volumes, and the Shakespeare Society publications in twenty volumes.

While all departments of our Library are over-crowded, that most important division of our collection, and that which is so often consulted—our thousands of newspaper files—is the most inaccessible, and must necessarily become more and more so with

every new addition, until we are provided with more ample accommodations.

One class of works has sprung into existence within the past few years that is becoming quite numerous—county histories. Though generally prepared with too much haste, yet it must be said to their credit that they snatch many a fragment of local history and genealogy from neglectfulness, and add not a little to the general sum of local historical literature. We are taking much pains to secure copies of these county histories, for unless secured on their issue, it is difficult to obtain them. In 1878, we obtained 24 county histories; in 1879, 45; in 1880, 43; in 1881, 76.

Progressive Library Increase

The past and present condition of the Library is shown in the following table:

Date.	Volumes added.	Documents and pamphlets.	Both together.	Total in Library.
1854, January 1	50	.....	50	50
1855, January 2	1,000	1,000	2,000	2,050
1856, January 1	1,065	2,000	3,065	5,115
1857, January 6	1,005	300	1,305	6,420
1858, January 1	1,024	959	1,983	8,403
1859, January 4	1,107	500	1,607	10,010
1860, January 3	1,800	723	2,523	12,533
1861, January 2	837	1,134	1,971	14,504
1862, January 2	610	711	1,321	15,825
1863, January 2	544	2,373	2,917	18,742
1864, January 2	248	356	604	19,346
1865, January 3	520	226	746	20,092
1866, January 2	368	806	1,174	21,266
1867, January 3	923	2,811	3,734	25,000
1868, January 4	5,462	1,043	6,405	31,505
1869, January 1	2,838	682	3,520	35,035
1870, January 4	923	6,240	7,163	42,188
1871, January 3	1,970	1,372	3,342	45,530
1872, January 2	1,211	3,789	5,000	50,530
1873, January 2	2,166	1,528	3,694	54,224
1874, January 2	1,852	1,178	3,030	57,254
1875, January 2	1,945	1,186	3,131	60,385
1876, January 4	2,851	1,764	4,615	65,000
1877, January 2	2,820	2,336	5,156	70,156
1878, January 2	1,818	5,090	6,908	77,064
1879, January 3	2,214	1,827	4,041	81,105
1880, January 6	2,050	3,027	5,077	86,182
1881, January 3	1,884	2,707	4,591	90,773
1882, January 3	2,741	1,486	4,227	95,000
	45,846	49,154	95,000	.....

Library Additions—Summary

	Vols.
American Patents	6
British Patents	88
American History and Travel	57
American Local History	117
American Revolutionary War History	17
American Indians	26
State Histories and Documents	110
United States Documents and Surveys	124
Slavery and Civil War	19
Canada	14
Magazines and Reviews	213
Historical and Learned Societies	5
American Biography	51
Foreign Biography	42
Genealogy and Heraldry	47
Foreign History	199
Antiquities and Archæology	37
G. Britain, History and Biography	425
Cyclopedias and Dictionaries	30
Language and Philology	16
Bibliography	25
Social Science	22
English Literature	52
Religious History, etc.	124
Education	22
Science	115
Drama	35
Directories	5
Poetry and Fiction	97
Almanacs and Registers	10
Voyages and Travels	6
Bound Newspaper Files	307
Atlases and Maps	21
Shakespeareana	91
Fine Arts	21
Junius	5
Miscellaneous	22
Medical	14
Classics	85
Temperance	19
	2,741

The additions of the year to the genealogical department, swell the number to 760—giving the ancestral records of thousands of families and prominent persons of our country.

On Language and Philology.—Jamieson's *Hermes Scythicus*, 1814; *Gospel of Luke* in Mohawk, 1833; *Winning's Manual of Comparative Philology*, 1838; Jefferson's *Essay on Anglo-Saxon Language*, 1851, 4to; Sternberg's *Dialect and Folk Lore*, 1851; *Book of Common Prayer* in Cree Language, 1856; *Forbes' Grammar of Hindustani Language*, 1858; Opuscula, *Philological Essays*, etc., 1860; Marsh's *Lectures on Eng. Language*, 1860;

Philological Miscellany, 1861; Lewis' *Essay on Romance Languages*, 1862; Latham's *Elements of Comparative Philology*, 1862; De Vere's *Americanisms*, 1872; Powell's *Introduction to Indian Languages*, 1880, 4to.; Trumbull's *Indian Names, etc., in Conn.*, 1881; *Origin and Progress of Language*, n. d.

By the addition of 22 maps and atlases, the total number is increased to 842.

Bound Newspaper Files.—The following additions indicate their number, and the period of their publication:

	Years	*Vols.*
London Perfect Diurnal	1647–9	1
London Gazette	1712	1
London Whisperer	1770–2	2
Boston Centinel	1784–90	5
Hartford, Conn., Courant	1787–94	3
New London, Conn., Gazette	1787–1801	3
Phila. Gazette of the U. States	1791	1
New Haven, Conn., Journal	1792	1
Phila. Gazette and Advertiser	1794–5	4
Boston Federal Orrery	1794–5	1
Boston Columbian Centinel	1794–6	3
Boston Independent Chronicle	1794–1800	5
N. York Diary & Advertiser	1797	1
Worcester, Mass., Spy	1797	3
New York Journal	1798–9	1
Phila. Aurora & Advertiser	1799–1800	2
Phila. Gazetteer	1803	1
Hartford, Conn., Courant	1803–7	3
Litchfield, Conn., Witness	1805–7	1
Hanover, N. H., Literary Tablet	1805–7	1
Burlington, Vt., Centinel	1806–8	1
Boston Patriot	1809–10	1
Hartford, Conn., Mirror & Courant	1809–22	6
Burlington, Vt., Gazette	1814–17	1
Boston Gazette	1814–17	2
Cincinnati, O., Western Spy	1814–22	4
New York Spectator	1817	1
Boston, New England Palladium	1820	1
Windsor, Vt., Journal	1820–1	1
Phila. National Gazette	1820–5	7
Worcester, Mass., Spy	1820–7	6
Burlington, N. J., Visitor	1825	1
Phila. Daily Advertiser	1825–30	4
Phila. Church Register	1828–9	1
Boston N. England Palladium	1829	1
Boston Independent Chronicle	1833–9	4
Utica, N. Y., Evan. Magazine, 4to.	1838	1
New York Dispatch	1809–40	1
Concord, N. H., Herald of Freedom	1840–44	1
Salem, Mass., Gazette	1841–2	1
New York Weekly Herald	1841–2	1
Syracuse, N. Y., Teachers' Advocate	1845–6	1
New York Weekly Express	1845–7	1
Boston Chris. Register	1845, '54–7, '62–6	3
Boston Advertiser	1846	1
New York Independent	1848–67	9

	Years.	*Vols.*
St. Paul, Minn., Pioneer	1851	1
Cleveland, O., Fam. Visitor	1851–3	1
Boston Traveller and Telegraph	1851–5	1
Boston Daily Transcript	1851–4	5
New York Illustrated News	1853	1
American R. R. Journal	1853–61	9
Boston Advertiser	1857	1
Boston Daily Transcript	1857–8	3
London Mail	1859	1
Boston Atlas and Daily Bee	1859–61	5
Boston Daily Transcript	1861–3	6
Boston Commercial Bulletin	1862–4	1
Boston Daily Courier	1862–4	4
New York Weekly Tribune	1862–3	1
Milwaukee and Chicago Fair Journals	1865	1
Yonkers, N. Y., Gazette	1865–6	1
Boston Congregationalist and Independent	1867–8	1
Boston Advertiser	1869	2
Scientific American	1870–1	4
Boston Daily Advertiser	1871–4	8
East Boston Advocate	1872–4	1
Dayton, O., Religious Telescope	1873–4	1
New York Independent	1873–5	3
Hartford, Conn., Christian Secretary	1874–6	1
Boston Advertiser and Post	1874–6	1
Boston Index	1878–9	2
Congressional Record	1879–80	6
Chicago N. W. Lumberman	1879–80	2
Railroad Gazette	1879–80	2
Chicago Railway Age	1879–80	2
Milwaukee Semi-Weekly Wisconsin	1879–80	1
Beloit Free Press	1880	1
Milwaukee Daily News	1880	1
Milwaukee Daily Chronicle	1880	1
Janesville Daily Recorder	1880	2
New York Nation	1880	1
Janesville Daily Gazette	1880–1	2
Madison Daily Democrat	1880–1	2
Madison Daily State Journal	1880–1	2
Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	1880–1	3
New York World	1880–1	3
New York Tribune	1880–1	4
Chicago Times	1880–1	5
Chicago Tribune	1880–1	5
Milwaukee Republican and News	1881	2
Wisconsin weekly newspapers	1849–80	88
		305

These additions make the total number of bound newspaper files of the seventeenth century, 65 volumes; of the eighteenth century, 470; of the present century, 3,237; grand total, 3,722. The Society receives regularly 14 daily newspapers, 1 semi-weekly, 205 weekly, 4 semi-monthly, and six monthly—total 230, of which 218 are Wisconsin papers. Also 3 weekly periodicals, 7 monthlies, and 7 quarterlies.

Autographs.—Autograph letters of the following signers of the Declaration of Independence, and of the Federal constitution, viz.: Jos. Hewes, of N. C.; Geo. Wythe, of Va.; Edw. Rutledge, of S. C.; Thos. Stone, of Md.; Geo. Ross, of Pa.; Geo. Taylor, of Pa.; Matt. Thornton, of N. H.; Oliver Wolcott, of Conn.; Thos. Mifflin, of Pa.; Chas. Thomson, of Pa.; Daniel Carrol, of Md.; John Rutledge, of S. C.; Josiah Bartlett, of N. H.; Wm. Hooper, of N. C.; Benj. Franklin, of Pa.; Wm. Jackson, of Ga.; Wm. S. Johnson, of Conn.; Gunning Bedford, of Del.; Rich'd D. Spaight, of N. C.; Wm. Blount, of N. C.; Robert Morris, of Pa.; Button Gwinnett, of Ga.; Lyman Hall, of Ga.; Roger Sherman, of Conn.; Thos. Lynch, Jr., of S. C.; Arthur Middleton, of S. C.; Thos. Nelson, Jr., of Va.; Geo. Read, of Del.; Wm. Floyd, of N. Y.; and Lewis Morris, of N. Y.

Antiquities.—A copper needle, eight inches long, from a mound near Ashland, Ohio, 1875, from Dr. Geo. W. Hill; stone borer, eighteen inches long by one and a half inches in diameter, found in Jefferson, Vernon Co., Wis., 1879, from Henry Casson, Jr., Viroqua, Wis., fossil or petrified oyster found in town of Vermont, Dane Co., Wis., from W. Keyser; portion of a deer's horn, found near Rice Lake, Wis., under the hearth of an ancient stockade, four feet under the surface, from J. D. Butler.

Art Gallery.—Large crayon portrait of Hon. Matt. H. Carpenter, by W. H. McEntee, of Eau Claire. Ordered by the legislature of 1881, and deposited in the Library. Very elegant gilt frame.

The following valuable papers have been received, and filed for publication:

MS. copies of official records of the circuit court of the United States for Brown County, then Michigan Territory, now Wisconsin, held by Judges J. D. Doty and David Irwin, from August 13, 1822, to October 12, 1838, from O. M. Conover, LL. D.

MS. compilation from the judicial records at Prairie du Chien, Crawford County, from 1823 to 1841, compiled by Hon. Ira B. Brunson, judge of the county court, presented by Hon. Moses M. Strong.

A MS. statement of the treaties between the Chippewas and

the United States, from 1825 to 1864, from the Chippewa standpoint, as presented to the commissioner of Indian affairs. From George P. Warren, an educated half-breed Chippewa.

A visit to the Menominees in 1849, and incidentally to the Oneidas and Stockbridges, by the late Alfred Cope, of Philadelphia.

All enlightened nations point with becoming pride to their great public libraries—the accumulated wisdom of ages—France to her National Library of 2,000,000 volumes; Great Britain to her British Museum of 1,150,000 volumes; Russia to her Imperial Library of 1,100,000 volumes; Prussia to her Royal Library of 700,000 volumes; Denmark to her Royal Library of 500,000 volumes; Saxony to her Royal Public Library of 500,000 volumes, and 400,000 pamphlets; our own country to her Congressional Library of 420,000 volumes, and the city of Boston to its great public library of 400,000 volumes.

At the commencement of this century there were but forty-nine libraries in the United States, aggregating 80,000 volumes; and only one of the whole number reached 15,000 volumes, and another about ten thousand, the others rating but a few hundred volumes. The infancy of the country and the poverty of its literary resources were well attested by the paucity of her public libraries of eighty years ago. Now we have well nigh 4,000 public libraries in the country, whose united collections exceed 12,000,000 of volumes. Some ten of these libraries range from 100,000 to 420,000 volumes; and not more than eighteen or twenty, all told, exceed in volumes, documents and pamphlets our own noble collection.

Of the thirteen historical and antiquarian societies in the country, founded prior to our own organization, and the sixty-four since, but two number more volumes in their libraries than ours. In some departments of collection we exceed them all—in prehistoric copper antiquities, and probably in bound newspaper files, county histories, and in the number of portraits of the founders and prominent characters of the Territory and State. No other historical or State library, so far as we know, has a collection, so nearly complete of its own State publications and newspapers as we have garnered in our library.

What the National Library at Washington is to our general government, our Library is to the State of Wisconsin. That noble collection of books at Washington, brought together with generous resources, has long since outgrown its apartments in the national capitol; and, for its accommodation and safety, an edifice is now proposed, whose estimated cost is placed at between two and a half and three millions of dollars.

Our Library, too, has outgrown its apartments in the Wisconsin capitol, and greatly needs safer and more ample accommodations. Judging from the expressions of the newspaper press generally, and letters received from prominent citizens in every portion of Wisconsin, public sentiment strongly favors the propriety of the State making needful provisions for our Society's invaluable historical and literary collections. Hitherto the State has had to provide for the extraordinary expenses incident to the prosecution of the late Civil War, or erect expensive buildings for its own use and for its benevolent institutions. Now that these demands have been met, it seems a fitting occasion for the legislature to make proper provisions for the wants of our Society. The necessity for such a building is so apparent, and the State withal needing the rooms we occupy for other purposes, there can be but little doubt that we shall soon have our treasures in better and safer quarters. This accomplished, with a largely augmented binding fund, we may well hope to see the Society enter upon a new career of usefulness and prosperity.

Emblematic Mounds in Wisconsin

By Rev. Stephen D. Peet

The State of Wisconsin has long been distinguished for the emblematic mounds which are found within its borders. It was one of the marked features of the early settlement of the State, that nearly the same wonder and surprise were awakened here that arose over the remarkable discoveries made by the Spaniards in Mexico, Central America, and Peru. When it was made known that there was the site of an ancient city here, and the name Aztalan was applied to it, a sensation went over the country not unlike that which prevailed during that age of adventure and wonder which followed immediately after the discovery of this continent.

The name Aztalan was derived from a tradition, which was said to be common among the Indians, to the effect that a people who were partially civilized, and who possessed tools and implements of all kinds, who cultivated the soil and built houses, had, at a previous time, come from the northeast and settled in this State, and here built a city; but having become dissatisfied, after the lapse of an hundred years, burned their city, and proceeded south to Mexico, which they conquered, and have ever since retained. Thus the State became at once connected with the ancient civilized regions of Central America, and great interest was awakened in the antiquities found here on account of it. This tradition had been made known by a French traveler, who was among the natives at a very early date, but, being repeated, excited much attention.[1]

During the survey of the mineral lands and the early settlement of the country, the effigy mounds came also into notice; and the

[1] This appeared in the Greenwich (N. Y.) *Eagle*. See Wisconsin Miscellaneous Pamphlets Vol. 8, in Wis. Hist. Soc. Library.

reports which were published concerning these aroused much attention in scientific circles. These reports were published in the *American Journal of Science,* and in the congressional documents of the Mineral Lands, and were furnished by Mr. Richard Taylor and Mr. Stephen Taylor, and Mr. John Locke.[1]

When the Smithsonian Institution was established, one of the first things to accomplish was to gather the scattered statements in reference to these and other prehistoric works of the country, and put them into a volume. This was done by Messrs. Squier and Davis, who, as residents of Ohio, had become interested in the antiquities of that State, and could furnish information of them from personal observation and survey. The material thus furnished occupied the whole of the first quarto volume of that Society's *Contributions,* which is now exceedingly valuable.

In the years 1849–50, about the time the Territory became a State, Dr. I. A. Lapham, who was an early settler, became interested in these mounds; and having prepared a volume upon the history and topography of the State, he also prepared a report of these ancient works, which was published in the fourth volume of the Smithsonian *Contributions.* Thus, fortunately, a somewhat extensive survey of the works was secured, not having been destroyed, as they since have been, by the incursions of agriculture and civilized arts. The interest, however, which was felt at the time, soon ceased, and effigy mounds and all prehistoric works dropped out of mind. The change in the mode of travel, from the private conveyance or stage coach to the railroad train, gave no opportunity for visiting them, but rather took travelers away from localities where they were.

It is a remarkable fact, that the large majority of these works were situated on the natural lines of travel, and at those prominent places which first attracted the attention of settlers. The Indian trails which remained cut deeply into the prairie soil, long after the settlement of the State, led past many of the more im-

[1] See *Silliman's Journal* for 1838, vol. xxxiv, article by Richard Taylor. See also *Silliman's Journal,* vol. xxxviii, published in 1842, article by S. Taylor. Also "Wisconsin and Lake Superior Mineral Lands," *Congressional Reports,* 1840–48.

portant groups; and as the first laid out roads followed the line of the trails, travelers in those early times would frequently come upon these mounds, and as they were undisturbed, they would attract the attention of even the most careless. Many of them have since been obliterated, and the progress of civilization has served to hide them from notice. It were well, however, if the State could preserve these monuments of the past. The clue to many important facts may have been lost, but the hints of a scientific system which are presented here, are extremely valuable. Ethnologists are looking to these works on account of their peculiar character. Dr. Phené, the distinguished English ethnologist, at the very date of this writing, is in the State, having made a long journey to study the prehistoric tokens found here. The writer has had the opportunity of interchanging views with him, and finds that these works are not surpassed in interest by any yet discovered. It is with pleasure that this article is furnished to the Historical Society, whose purpose it is to perpetuate the historic and prehistoric record of the State. The effort will be, to put on record just those things which every citizen ought to know, and which are important for the State to preserve.

The significance of the mounds, the objects for which they were erected, the various uses to which they may have been subject, will not be here considered. The main object of the article is to give a description of the different effigies, and so fix on paper those shapes which are so rapidly vanishing from the soil. It took many persons, perhaps years and ages of toil, to place these effigies on the surface of the hills, and if the few days which one person can spend, will perpetuate the knowledge of them, we shall consider the time well spent. There is a sense of satisfaction in perpetuating this record, for the strongest and dearest associations of the prehistoric race, were evidently clustered about these very mountains. Not only were tribal names and tribal signs embodied in them, but social customs and religious rites were connected with them. Thus preserving these shapes, we not only preserve the divinities which were very sacred to the prehistoric races, but we preserve also the symbols which will help us better to understand the primitive society and customs which prevailed here.

A few words will be allowed me in reference to the difficulties of fixing the shape of the effigies.

1st. Many of them have been obliterated. Forty years ago they were very plain and distinct. The prairie grass which grew over them helped to bring out their outlines, and made them seem full as large as they were. Their shapes were generally on the summit of the hills, and so their outlines were very striking. It is very different now. The plow has obliterated many of them, the treading of cattle has destroyed the shapes of others, the wear of the elements has taken away the sharpness and distinctness of the emblems, the enthusiasm of would-be scientists, and the avarice of relic-hunters have destroyed others; houses, public buildings and cities have been built on the sites where many of them existed, and all the processes of civilization have only aided to destroy rather than preserve them.

2d. The want of familiarity with the surroundings which were common when they were built, is another difficulty in the way of identifying the shapes. If we knew exactly what animals abounded here, when these effigies were erected, we would more easily see the resemblances. The buffalo, the moose, the elk, the antelope, the panther, the black bear, and the lynx, have all long since departed from this region, and are now well nigh extinct. If we were more familiar with these animals, we would recognize their effigies quicker than we do. They were once very common, and were well known to the hunting races. The people who early settled this country, were better acquainted with these animals than we are. The beaver, mink, weasel, marten, and even the fox and wolf, and many of the birds, such as the eagle, sand-hill crane, swan and wild turkey, have all become rare. If the shape of the mounds perpetuated the badges, weapons and symbols of the natives, these also are unfamiliar. In fact, all that was peculiar to the wild-life faded more and more from sight, and there is scarcely a fragment in memory, and very little record in history, of that which once existed. Civilized life is so different from the savage, that we can form no conception of the definite items which serve to make up the picture which once might have been drawn. We have to go back to the time when the natives were

all here, and the whites were intruders, to get even a hint of what might have existed in the preceding ages, and our very civilization is a barrier in our way in this respect.

3d. The different conceptions which we have in reference to religious facts, the soul, the deity, and everything which pertains to the invisible and spiritual world, render it very difficult for us to conceive the ideas which were expressed by these mound representations. The effigies are indeed expressive of animal life, and are very true to nature. We not only recognize the shape of the animals, but we find that their different attitudes are life-like, and we come to admire the mounds as works of art, for they are complete representations of the animals. But the attitudes were expressive of a deeper meaning than this. A strange superstition seems to have fixed upon these animal shapes, to make divinities of them, and the attitudes of the animals became not only expressive of what was natural, but also significant of a certain supernatural element, the soul of the animal being the thing which was recognized and worshiped, rather than the form. It becomes very difficult for us to catch the meaning of these emblems on this account. If we do not put ourselves into the very state of mind in which the builders were, we shall not understand the shapes. If we ascribe to them our own religious conceptions, we shall go far amiss in interpreting their works.

Our conceptions, as civilized people, have come from a very different source from theirs. We picture dragons, and crosses, and other forms, as the traces of pagan, classic, and Christian symbolism; but we know nothing of native symbolism as such, therefore our imagination is sure to go astray. A picture on paper will sometimes convey an idea which the massive effigy will not; and yet, to a stranger, the picture can give no idea of the impressiveness of the effigies themselves. We need to study the works, with their natural surroundings, catch something of the inspiration of the scenery, and then draw the outlines from an actual survey; and so, by the accommodation of a natural and an artificial skill, determine what the symbols are which are represented in the effigies.

In considering these figures, there are two or three divisions of

them; first, those representing inanimate objects, such as weapons, badges and various emblems which were familiar to the native races; second, animal effigies as such, using the word animal in the peculiar sense of four-footed beasts, and all creatures inhabiting the water or land, belonging to the order of mammalia; third, the effigies of birds and winged creatures. Another division might also be added, and made to include fishes, reptiles and such creatures as have neither wings nor legs.

With this classification we propose to give a description of some of the more common and prominent of the effigies, and shall first consider the inanimate objects, such as war-clubs, badges and other symbols of office. Under this head also, there are certain conventional forms, which neither bear resemblance to any animate or inanimate object, but which had become common as symbols. This same class would also embrace the so-called composite mounds. These bear the shape of animals in combination, forming figures which resemble the fabled creature called the chimera, which combined in one the head of the lion, the body of the goat, and the tail of the dragon. There are many such figures among the effigies, resembling, in some respects, the early pagan symbols, but differing from them.

The subject of symbolism is not understood, and it is difficult, at times, to separate the conventional and tribal signs from animal forms; and the danger is that we shall ascribe to the effigies the shapes of such symbols as we are familiar with, when in reality they represent animals and birds rather than symbols.

We begin with the symbol of the cross. This has been frequently referred to by Dr. Lapham in his work; but, in nearly every case where the cross is recognized by him, the effigy intended was that of a bird or some other animal. It would seem that no two specimens of the cross are alike. Sometimes it is in the shape of an upright bar, with a straight cross-piece, sometimes two bars crossing one another, the arms of equal length, but tapering towards the end; sometimes the standard is in a straight line, but the cross-bar forms oblique angles with it. Again, the cross-bar is curved, and the writer is doubtful whether it is a bird or a

Fig. 5.

cross. The standard, or upright part of the cross is, at times, very heavy at the base, and again tapers toward the base. The direction of the cross is universally the opposite to that of the other effigies. It is also strangely associated with animals of various kinds, and its position among these effigies is very incongruous. Had the writer merely said *bird*, he would have conveyed an idea which was in keeping with the resemblances of all of these emblems of effigies referred to, and which would have admitted of all the varieties of shapes, and been all the more significant. Animal effigies are generally found in different attitudes, as the object seemed to have been to make the effigy expressive; but any symbol must necessarily be uniform, or its significance is lost. The symbol of the cross, we acknowledge, has assumed various shapes. The Greek Tau (T) being most primitive, the Roman

cross the most common, the letter X very ancient, the Greek cross the most ornamental, and the Maltese cross the most expressive, perhaps, of all. None of these conventional forms of the cross, are, however, discovered. Imagination might indeed picture this symbol. The form of the cross is, indeed, discovered in America.

The tablet of the cross found at Palenque proves this fact conclusively. It is possible that the cross which has been recognized on certain inscribed shells, found in Missouri, and described by Mr. F. F. Hilder, was also a symbol derived from the same source; but that any of the cases referred to by Dr. Lapham, embodied the Christian symbol, we doubt. We give herewith several cuts which represent the cross, in Dr. Lapham's opinion, and a list of

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

other specimens referred to in his work. It will be noticed how much they differ from one another, and for this reason alone might be supposed to represent something else than the cross. The bird shape may not be easily recognized in all of them, but they are as good resemblances of birds as of crosses. It will be noticed in the cut No. 5, that the direction of the bird would be exactly reversed if it were a cross, and thus the significance of the group might be destroyed. On Fig. 4, the cross has crooked arms. It is certainly anomalous for such a symbol, and in Figs. 2 and 3 the arms are oblique.—See also Fig. 5.

We turn now to consider the symbols which are absolute exceptions to the animal forms. We have discovered certain sym-

bols or emblems, which cannot be said to represent any animal. We do not now refer to that numerous class of round or conical-shaped mounds, which are common in this State, as well as in all other States of the great interior. Nor do we refer to the long tapering mounds which are quite numerous, but which neither resemble any animal shape, nor in fact, any other known object.

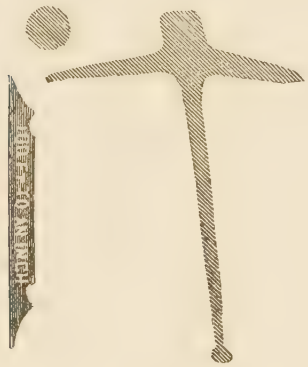


Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

These long mounds may have been emblems, or symbols, but we have not been able to recognize the object represented by them, and their use, in connection with game-drives and covered-ways would indicate that they were not effigies at all. There are also certain walls, both straight and circular, which cannot be called effigies. See Fig 6.[1] But the emblematic mounds to which we

Fig. 6.

refer are different from all these. They might be said to represent the implements and maces, wands, banners, badges, and other tribal emblems which are known to have been common among the Aborigines. It may be difficult to identify the specific implement or badge intended, but that it was the design to represent

[1] Fig. 6 represents a series of works at Honey Creek, described by Dr. Lapham. See Plate 47.

such objects seems probable. A few of these exceptional emblems we propose to describe.

1. The mace or badge. In the city of Madison, there was formerly a mound whose shape has been depicted, both by Dr. Lapham and Frank Hudson.[1] It may have been intended for an animal, or it may have represented some kind of a badge or staff. We would call attention to the resemblance of this mound to certain others discovered elsewhere. A similar mound we have ourselves examined and plotted. It is situated on the banks of Lake Koshkonong, near the Lake View House, and forms one of a large group. It is a long, tapering mound, with three conical mounds built into it, making three bulging projections, each one larger than the preceding. We give a cut of this one. See Fig. 19, Plate III, as one of the rare exceptions in form, scarcely any other like it having been discovered.

2. Dr. Lapham has referred to a mound which has the shape of a war-club. It was found near the outlet of Fox Lake, on the west side of the stream, amid a diversity of shapes, one of which is the cross with the oblique arms.[2] A mound was near it which Dr. Lapham thinks represented an elk; but which, in our opinion, represented the rabbit as well. Several other mounds[3] are depicted in Dr. Lapham's work, which may also have been intended to represent battle-axes, as they certainly represent no animal, and no other known form.[4] See Cut 7.

A mound bearing the shape of a war-club we have ourselves discovered. It is situated on a ridge, at the east end of Lake Monona, near the city of Madison, and conforms closely to the shape of the ridge. The head of this mound is thirty-six feet across, and is hemispherical in shape, the handle or tail one hundred and sixty-five feet long, twenty-one feet wide at the widest part, and tapering to a point. A mound, however, which Dr. Lapham called

[1] See Lapham's *Antiquities*, p. 40, Plate 32, No. 1.
[2] See Lapham's *Antiquities*, pp. 18–20, Plate VIII: Plate X; Plate XXII, 2 and 3, pp. 36, 37; Plate XXXI, p. 39; p. 52; p. 54, Fig. 25; Plate XXXVI; Plate XXXVII; Plate XXXIX, pp. 50–57; Plate XL, p. 58; XLI, 1, p. 62; Plate XLIV, 2, p. 69.
[3] Lapham's *Antiquities*, Plate XI at Milwaukee; Plate XXVIII, No. 1, at Ft. Atkinson; Plate XI at Mayville.
[4] See Lapham's *Antiquities*, pp. 36, 37; also Plate XXVII (A).

the war-club, we have surveyed, and find that it represents an animal effigy, instead of an implement.[1] It may be seen among the group at Lake Koshkonong, and was evidently intended to represent the same animal which we have called the mountain lion or cougar. As seen in its position, it is a very impressive effigy, and was probably intended as a guard to the observatory, which is near it. It differs from other effigies of the same kind, in that the head and fore shoulders are much heavier than usual.

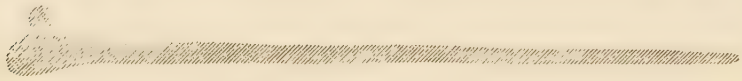


Fig. 7.— War-Club at Mayville.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that in plotting this effigy, the writer has taken the figure given by Dr. Lapham's survey; but by drawing the lines as they were presented to the eye, the figure came out as the effigy of a mountain lion or cougar, rather than of the battle-axe, showing that there is an absolute necessity of getting the right conception when looking at the mounds and plotting them.

3. An earth-work is described by Dr. Lapham, as existing at Sheboygan, near Dr. Seely's house. It resembles a double ox-bow. The arms are about two hundred feet in length, but have only a slight breadth and elevation, and are not far from the edge of a steep hill. Near them are many animal effigies of various forms.

Perhaps the most unique and singular effigies are the composite mounds, which are quite numerous in certain localities. We present a diagram of one of these, taken from Dr. Lapham's work,[2] situated on the Rock River, near Horicon, though no description is given of it. See cut 8. It is situated among a large number of other mounds, the most of them being animal effigies, but according to Lapham, representing crosses. A composite mound we have discovered near Lake Wingra, southwest of the city of Madison. It is situated on land belonging to Geo. H. Durrie, but is too much obliterated to describe. A similar composite work formerly existed at Rockton, Illinois. This work

[1] See page cut, Plate I, Koshkonong, Fig. 5.
[2] See Lapham's *Antiquities*, Plate 37, composite mounds, Nos. 1 and 2.

has also been destroyed, as it is within a few feet of the depot on the Western Union Railroad. The significance of composite mounds is difficult to discover, though it has been supposed that the tribal leagues and combinations may possibly have been represented by them. In the composite mounds at Rockton and at Horicon, animal forms are recognized in connection with other anomalous shapes. It should be said there are many pictures on the rocks in Colorado and New Mexico, which have striking resemblances to these composite mounds. It is probable that these pictures were tribal records, and the earth-

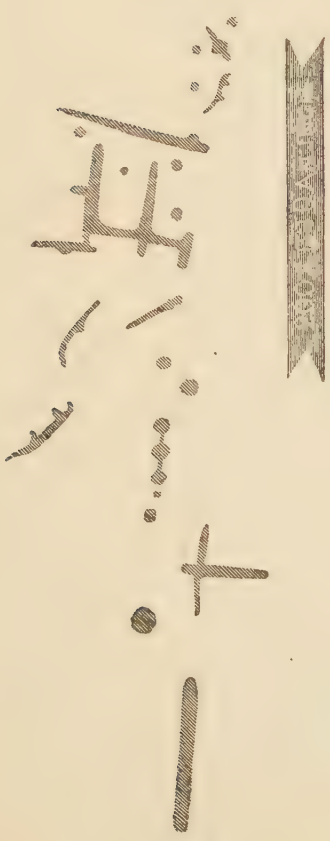


Fig. 8.

Fig. 9.

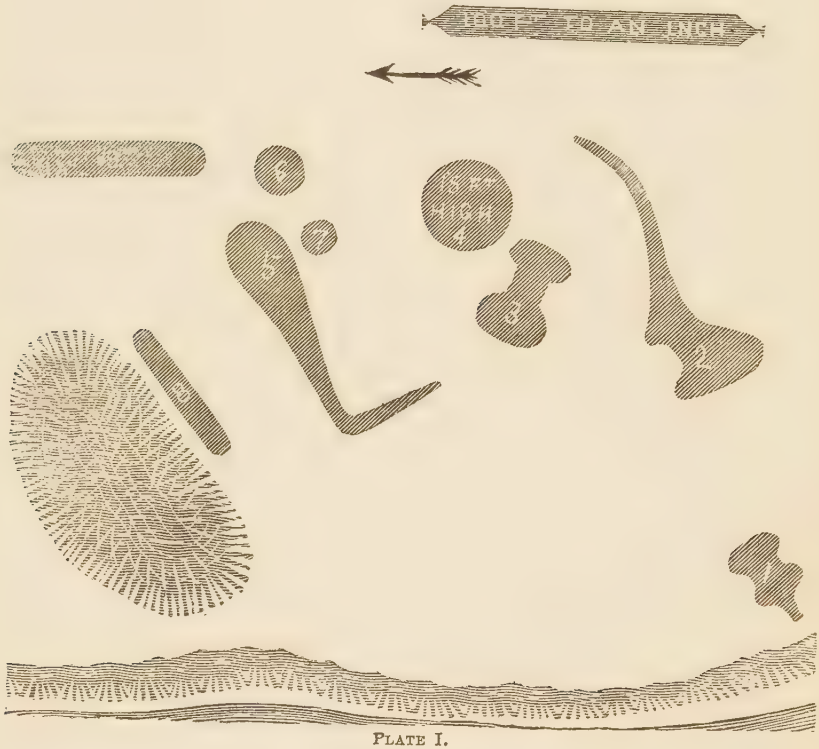


PLATE I.

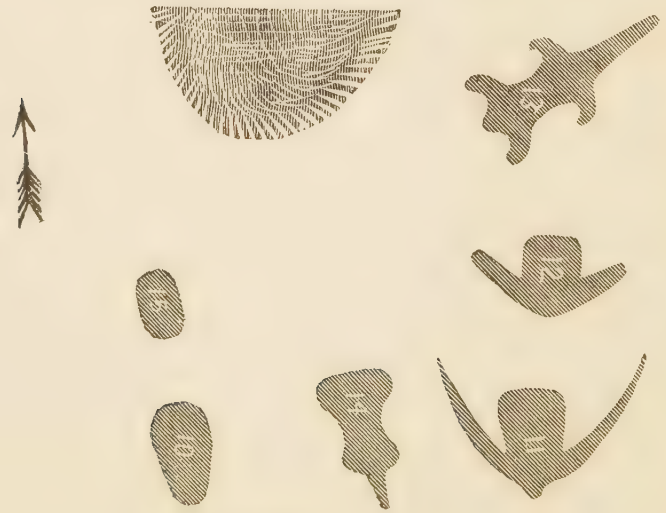


PLATE II.

works may also have been designed for the same purpose. Rock-cuttings are described in Hayden's *Reports*. Mr. Taylor described a composite mound in Richland County.[1] It consists of a buffalo or elk, in combination with a bird or man effigy. We present a cut of this, taken from the Smithsonian *Contributions*.[2] See cut 9. "It is situated upon an eminence near Eagle Mills, Richland County. Immediately to the southwest, and within twenty feet of the head of this figure, commences a series of mounds, mostly conical."

5. A series of conical mounds, connected by a wall may be seen in the center of Mound street, in the city of Madison. Seventeen conical mounds, averaging in width about twenty feet, and in height about five feet, and situated eight or ten feet apart, stretch the whole length of the street, across a block or more. The object of this line of mounds, connected as they are by a sort of wall, is difficult to determine. We do not maintain that they were intended for composite or tribal mounds, but mention them here that they may go on record. They are situated between the depot and the old stone quarry, in the midst of the houses, and may at any time be destroyed. They resemble others which are supposed by some to be a sort of tally-string. Dr. Phené, for instance, passed twelve effigy-mounds near the Wisconsin River, and then came upon a line of twelve conical mounds, connected by a wall in the same way. It is possible that the city of Madison covers the seventeen effigies which these mounds indicate.

6. Perhaps under this head there should be mentioned the remarkable triangular inclosure which is shown in connection with the mound at Lake Koshkonong.[3] This complicated figure resembles one that is described by Dr. Conant, in his *Foot-Prints of Vanished Races*.[4] He says, "This class of works appears frequently in Iowa, but was formerly found in greatest numbers in Missouri." The one figured by him was located on Root River,

[1] See *Silliman's Journal*, vol. 38.
[2] Composite Mound, No. 4. See Smithsonian *Contributions*, vol. 1.
[3] "Mounds at Koshkonong," on Plate III, constitute a part of a long series beginning with those on Plate I, and ending with those on Plate III.
[4] Fig. 9, page 30, *Foot-Prints of Vanished Races*.

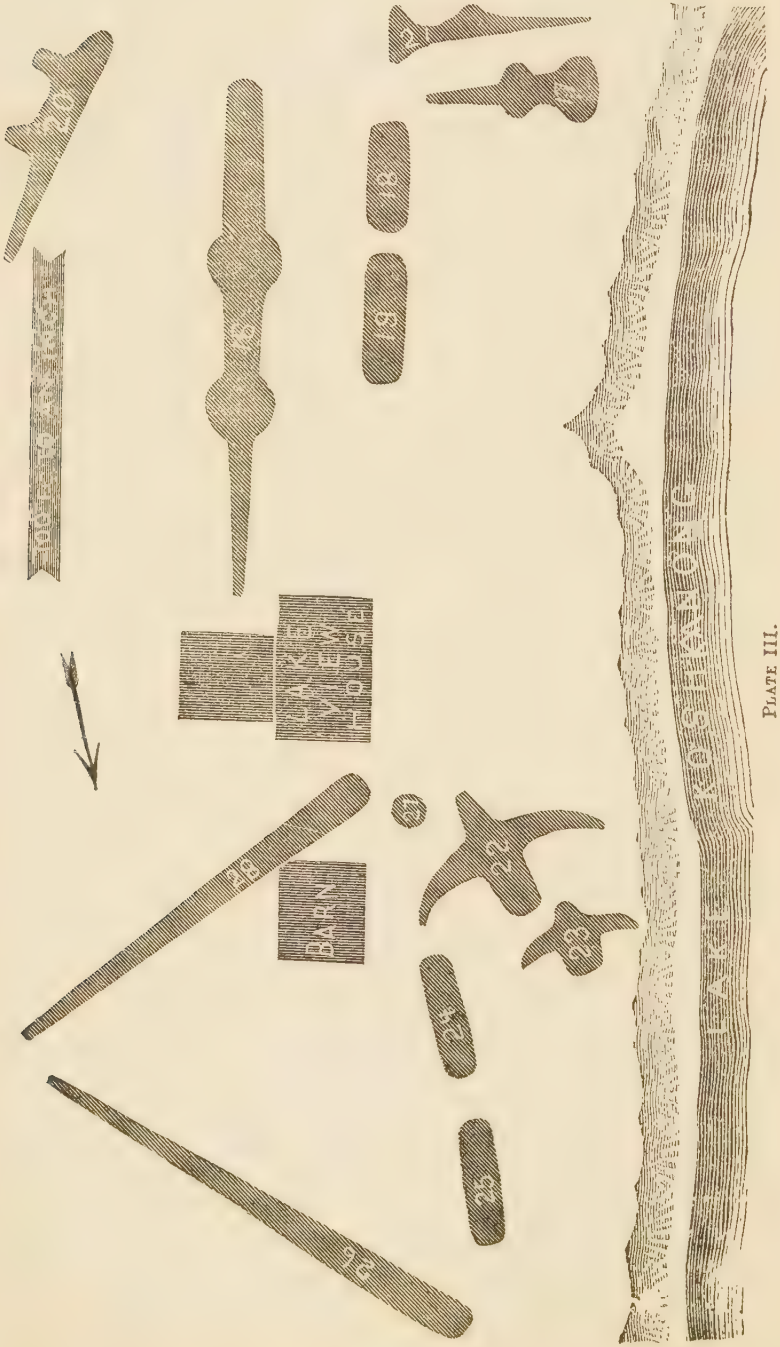

20
21
18
19
24
LAKE KOSHKONONG
LAKE VIEW HOUSE
BARN
28
30
22
23
25
26
27

PLATE III.

about twenty miles west of the Mississippi, in Iowa. It is taken, as many other of the diagrams in the work of Mr. Conant were, from the book prepared by Mr. Wm. Pidgeon; but as this book is wholly unreliable, we pass by this record. A similar work is described by Mr. Conant, as existing in 1835–40, on the site of the city of St. Louis. The groups at Lake Koshkonong are not so massive nor pretentious as those described by Dr. Conant; but as this triangular emblem is still in existence, we call especial attention to it. It is the only one which we have seen. It consists of two ordinary tapering mounds, each two hundred and fifty feet in length, and varying in height from a few inches to two feet, which formed two sides of a triangle, the third side being composed of two oblong mounds, and a bird effigy. The object of this triangle is unknown. Openings at each corner would preclude the idea of its being used for defense, and we accordingly place it among the composite mounds, as it may have been designed for a tribal sign or emblem.

It is associated with a very large group of effigies, and the mound which we have designated as a banner mound or badge, and hence we conclude that it had a symbolical meaning. It forms one end of the group, while the interesting cluster, consisting of an observatory mound, guarded by the panther upon one side, and by the catfish upon the other, forms the other end of the series.

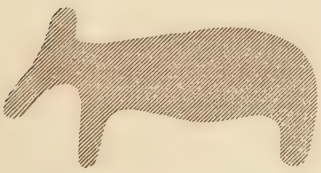


Fig. 24.

Fig. 25.

All these mounds are located on the high bluff which overlooks the lake to the westward. Situated as they are, on the slope of the bluff, and occupying the line of the shore around the whole length of the point of the land, they form a very conspicuous feature in the landscape. This and the badge are the only symbolical figures among them. The rest are all effigies. See Figs. 24, 25 and 26. Also Plate III.

7. One more emblem should be referred to. It consists of a long mound which ends with a sudden turn or crook, making a point at an oblique angle with the main ridge.[1] We give a cut of the same. See cut 6. This seems to be a somewhat common shape. One such mound we have discovered on the banks of Turtle Creek, near Beloit. In each of the cases where this form of mound is used, it seems to have the same purpose. The turn in the direction of it seems to have been designed to make an opening or passage way in the wall. Such is the case in the one referred to at Beloit, and in those described by Dr. Lapham.

We now turn to a consideration of the animal effigies as such, with a view of classifying them; and first, we remark that a large proportion of the effigies are those of four-footed animals. The animals represented are generally such as were still peculiar to the region. Some few have disappeared, such as the buffalo, the elk, the panther, the bear, and the wolf, though the two latter are still occasionally seen. The animals represented belong to all the different kingdoms. Of four-footed beasts, we have the effigies of ruminant and grazing creatures, like the buffalo, deer, and elk. Also, beasts of prey; such as the wolf, the fox, the bear, panther, and wild cat, and the various fur-bearing animals, such as the weasel, the beaver, the badger, skunk, and raccoon. Of the rodents we find squirrels, muskrats, hares, and rabbits. Of birds, we find mainly the larger and more common varieties, such as the wild goose, loon, crane, bittern, sand-hill crane, and eagle. Of the smaller kinds, we find many specimens of the hawk, pigeon, snipe, duck, night-hawk, and owl. Of the reptiles, turtles are the most numerous, and there seem to be a great variety of these represented. Lizards also, are common, snakes of various kinds; and of the batrachia, frogs, toads, and salamanders. Of the fishes, perch, pickerel, cat-fish, and bass. These animals are found associated closely together without regard to their order or species, but only according to their familiarity or commonness. Their effigies are frequently grouped together on the banks of lakes, sometimes in attitudes very life-like, and expressive of the habits of the animals.

First among them we will mention the turtle. This effigy is

[1] See Plate XLVII, Lapham's *Antiquities*.

perhaps the most common of all. It is found in various localities, ranging from the State line on the south, to the Wolf River, two hundred miles to the north. Scattered along the banks of the various rivers throughout the State, it forms a very conspicuous object. Its position is frequently upon the high bluff, overlooking the valley of the stream. It seems to have been used as an outlook, as almost universally an extensive view is presented from its summit. It is sometimes isolated, being situated on a point of land remote from other effigies, but is oftener found in the midst of groups of other mounds. It is also frequently found in pairs, overlooking the groups. As to the shape of the turtle effigy, there are many varieties, though they seem all to have been modifications of the same type. The variations consist, first, in making the fore-part heavier than the rest of the body; second, in making the hind-parts the heavier; third, in drawing in the body, so that there shall be only a narrow ridge between the legs; fourth, in making the legs either crooked or straight; fifth, the back is made into a ridge, and conical mounds are placed on the hips; sixth, the tail is shortened and made blunt, or dispensed with altogether; seventh, the tail is crooked. It should be said that these various modifications of the turtle shade into resemblances of other animals, the first modified form resembling the tadpole, the third and fourth oftentimes resembling the lizard, the sixth resembling the frog. We give cuts of each of these forms, referring to them as they are found in connection with other cuts. The first modification will be seen in Fig. 1, Plate I; also in Fig. 17, Plate III. The third, somewhat resembling the lizard, may be seen in Fig. 13, Plate II, although this is a very common form, and resembles the turtle as much as any other of the effigies. The seventh form is presented in Cut 14. The eighth, which may be said to resemble the frog, found on Wisconsin River, is represented in Cut 10. One locality where the turtle is very frequent as an emblem is at Beloit. Here it is found in the most prominent places, both isolated, in pairs, in the center of groups, on knolls and bluffs, at the end of tongues of land, in positions com-

Fig. 10.— Wisconsin River.

Fig. 18.—Turtle Mounds at Pewaukee

manding extensive views, and, in one case, on the bottom land, near the bank of the creek. A map of the mounds[1] around the city, and diagrams of certain groups, have been prepared by the author, and it will be seen that in each of the localities where mounds are found at all, the turtle is the most conspicuous. See cut 17. Nowhere else does the turtle seem so prominent as here. There were, formerly,[2] near the village of Geneva, two turtle mounds. They were situated near the lake, with their heads near the water. One is found on Mound Prairie, Tp. 1, R. 19. A very conspicuous turtle mound is found at Waukesha. It has been described by Dr. Lapham, and may be seen depicted in cut 12. This turtle was a very fine specimen of the ancient art of mound building, with its graceful curves, the feet projecting backward and forward, and the tail with its gradual slope, so acutely pointed, it was impossible to ascertain where it culmi-

[1] See *Am. Antiquarian*, vol. iii p. 2.
[2] See *History of Geneva*, by Jas. Simmons. Also Lapham's *Antiquities*, p. 24.

nated. The body was fifty-six feet in length, height six feet, and tail two hundred and fifty feet.[1]

Another turtle effigy at Waukesha is still preserved on the college grounds, and has been visited by the writer. Both these effigies are situated where an extensive view may be obtained,

Fig. 11.— Turtle Mounds at Beloit.

the first giving a view toward the river, and the valley at the west. The one on the college grounds is situated higher up, and gives a view to the east. Seven turtle mounds at Pewaukee occupy the summit of a ridge,[2] and were, in 1851, very conspicuous objects. These have been nearly obliterated. See cut 13.

Other mounds remain on the bluff nearer the village, one of

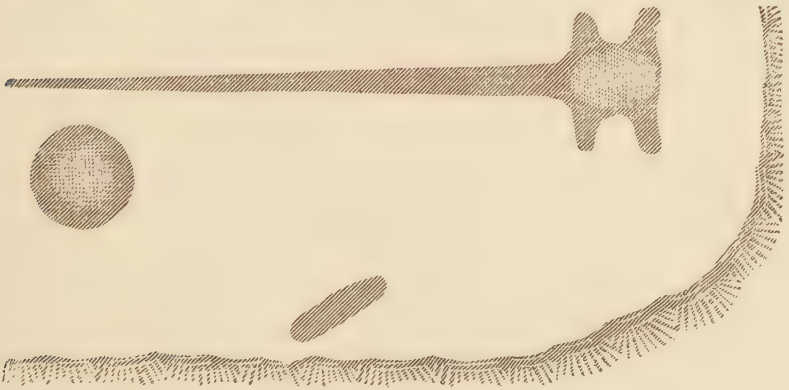


Fig. 12.— Turtle Mound at Waukesha.

which is a turtle effigy, and this also is in a prominent position, where an extensive view of an ancient lake, now a marsh, existed.

[1] See Lapham's *Antiquities*, Plate, XIX.
[2] Lapham's *Antiquities*, Plate XXIII.

Turtle mounds are found on the borders of Silver Lake, near summit of Lake Koshkonong, Lake Monona, Lake Mendota, Horicon Lake, Green Lake, Lake Winnebago, and Ripley Lake; also at Mayville, at Hartland, at Crawfordsville, and many other places. In all localities where they have been observed, they occupy similar positions, the summit of some bluff or ridge of land, generally overlooking some stream or lake, valley, swamp or prairie, and would seem to have been used as observatories. At Green Lake a turtle was discovered by the writer in a peculiar position and attitude. It was on the edge of a little stream, its head on the summit of the bank, but its body on the bank itself, and tail extending almost to the stream. In its attitude, it resembled a turtle just crawling out of the water toward the top of the bank, where it was sunning itself. The resemblance was very striking, but it is the only place where the turtle has been seen by the writer in any such a position. A modified form of the turtle effigy is presented in a mound which has similar features, viz.: a body with projecting legs, without tail, and is generally very prominent. Judging from its position, we should say that it was often used as an altar mound. One such mound may be seen on Plate I, Fig. 3, just below the observatory mound, guarded by the effigy of the wolf, and panther, and by the catfish. From its position it gives the idea that it was very sacred, and hence we judge it may have been a sacrificial mound. A mound resembling this in shape was opened by Prof. Nicodemus, and found to contain bones, ashes and fragments of cloth. The remains of it may still be seen on the summit of the ridge near Lake Wingra.

2. Another common form is the effigy of a four-footed animal resembling the panther, though some call it the mountain lion, or tiger. The best specimen of it is found at Waukesha. This has been described by Dr. Lapham.[1] Similar effigies were described by Dr. Lapham, and called by him lizard mounds, situated amid a group composed of turtles, birds and other shapes. On a ridge near the Great Bend of the Fox River, several wolf effigies are now existing. The attitude is very expressive, the form imposing, and they are nearly all of large size. Two such mounds

[1] See Lapham's *Antiquities*, p. 24.

were seen by the writer, in 1880, on the banks of Green Lake. They seem to guard the entrance or approach to a very large and interesting group of mounds, and are in very striking attitudes. They were fronting one another as if prepared for conflict. The distance between them is about fifteen feet. A similar pair, also bearing a very striking appearance, and having the same attitude, may be seen on the banks of Ripley Lake. See cut 14. Here, however, the group of other mounds stretches to either side, and the animals appear as if they were in conflict, while the others have their heads stretching toward the lake. They stand out on the side of the hill, their bodies parallel with the lake shore. Two mounds bearing this effigy are also seen on the bluff near Lake Monona, directly opposite the capitol, not far from the railroad cut, and between the railroad and Lake Wingra.

Fig. 14.

These two mounds are prominently situated on the bluff, but instead of being in the attitude of attack, one has the appearance of having been subdued, and is apparently skulking along the edge of the hill, with head and tail down, everything expressive of defeat. The other is following close to it, with head erect, breast thrown proudly forward, legs strong and heavy, body full, and tail extended. Another effigy of the same kind may be seen on the ridge, be-

tween Lake Wingra and Lake Monona. This mound represents the wolf, as reclining on the ridge, his immense body stretching from near the summit to the very foot, but following the line of a spur from the ridge; it stands out in bold outlines, the head, body and legs forming a conspicuous figure, while the tail stretches to the valley below. It seems to be guarding the approach to a series of mounds which occupy the summit of the ridge. This mound is now nearly obliterated; but it must have been very prominent at one time.

The panther, or mountain lion, also exists at Beloit. A group on the west bank of Turtle Creek presents several of these effigies, two of them being especially prominent. These were in the attitude of combat, with bodies parallel to one another, and a passageway between. A similar effigy, also, lined the edge of the gully upon the other side. One stood in bold outline, with head toward the gully, and overlooking the valley of the stream. Others also stood on the outskirts of the group, all of them apparently being designed to serve as guards or preventing barriers.

3. A modified form of this effigy, more properly representing the prairie wolf is very common. It consists of the body and tail, but lacks the prominent and lofty head, characteristic of the panther. The office of this figure, however, seems to have been the same as the other. This effigy formerly existed in considerable numbers in the vicinity of Milwaukee. Dr. Lapham has described a number of them. Two were situated in the first ward, near Main street; five were located in the second ward, between Fifth and Sixth streets. Three more were situated on the school section, near the La Crosse & Milwaukee Railroad and the Humboldt plankroad. All of these were arranged relative to one another, as though they were intended for guards or gateways, as they were at angles with one another, their long bodies and tails forming walls which might be easily supposed to have been the guards to the entrances of ancient villages, as they are all of them situated on the bluffs and near the edge. A similar arrangement of this effigy may be found at Waukesha, on the college grounds, the mounds on the edge of the campus on the north side being so arranged, both on the rise of land and the low land.

Dr. Lapham has referred to a group of four lizard mounds, as he calls them, accompanied by three round mounds, near the crossing of the old Madison road, one and a half miles above Waukesha. They are in a very high and commanding position, and a sentinel stationed on them could give warning to the inhabitants of the approach of any hostile force.

A somewhat similar arrangement of this effigy, in connection with others, may be seen on the banks of Lake Winnebago. Here the mounds are arranged along the edge of a high bluff. They are represented by Dr. Lapham upon Plate XLI, No. 1, and described as extending some distance near the edge of the rocky escarpment. The fact that the first figure is placed transversely, preceded by two mounds or advanced posts, may have a particular significance. These were situated on S. 36, Tp. 20, R. 18. Another series is found five miles distant, on lots 17, 18 and 19. These are also arranged along the edge of the escarpment, and form a substitute for a wall, as they overlap one another in such a way as to make a continuous line. The writer has discovered two wolf mounds near the outlet of Lake Monona, which are situated in such a way as also to form a sort of barrier or wall, though, in this case, they would seem to be a preventive against the escape of game, for they are associated with a game-drive or trap.

4. Another effigy, which is quite common, resembles the fox. It assumes different shapes, but generally some attitude peculiar to that animal. There are several animals which have nearly the same form, and which, when represented by an earth-work, would be confounded with one another. There may not seem to be much resemblance between the fox and weasel or mink, yet it is difficult at times to distinguish the effigies of them. The relative sizes are not observed in the figures. The attitudes of these animals, however, generally indicate which one is intended. The emblematic mound-builders understood the habits of the animals, and the effigies, in this respect, are always true to life. The fox seen stealthily prowling about, and assumes the natural attitude, whether among a group of other animals, or by itself alone. The weasel is depicted at times, as in the attitude of catching a bird; the mink may be seen on the bank, drawing nearer to its place on the edge

of the water; while the squirrel, whose body, at times, resembles the others mentioned, is generally distinguished by its attitude and position. All of these animals are represented by the effigies. Fig. 18 refers to the effigy of a fox on Wisconsin River, on Sec. 35, T. 9, range 1 W., described by Stephen Taylor in Silliman's *Journal*, January, 1843, Plate 7, No. 4.

Fig. 18 — Fox on Wisconsin River, T. 9, R. 1 W.

We now refer to one specific case where these effigies are found. Two figures have been seen by the author on the bank of Lake Wingra. One of them is a long animal, with body and tail in a straight line, legs at right angles, head square and straight out; the other has a shorter body, with the head raised up, and the tail drawn down. See Plate IV, Figs. 3

Fig. 16.— Fox Effigies at Mayville.

and 5. Their location is different. The one is on a level ground, stretched along the edge of the bluff, but the other is crawling up

Fig. 17.— Mounds Ten Miles West of Madison: (R. C. Taylor.)

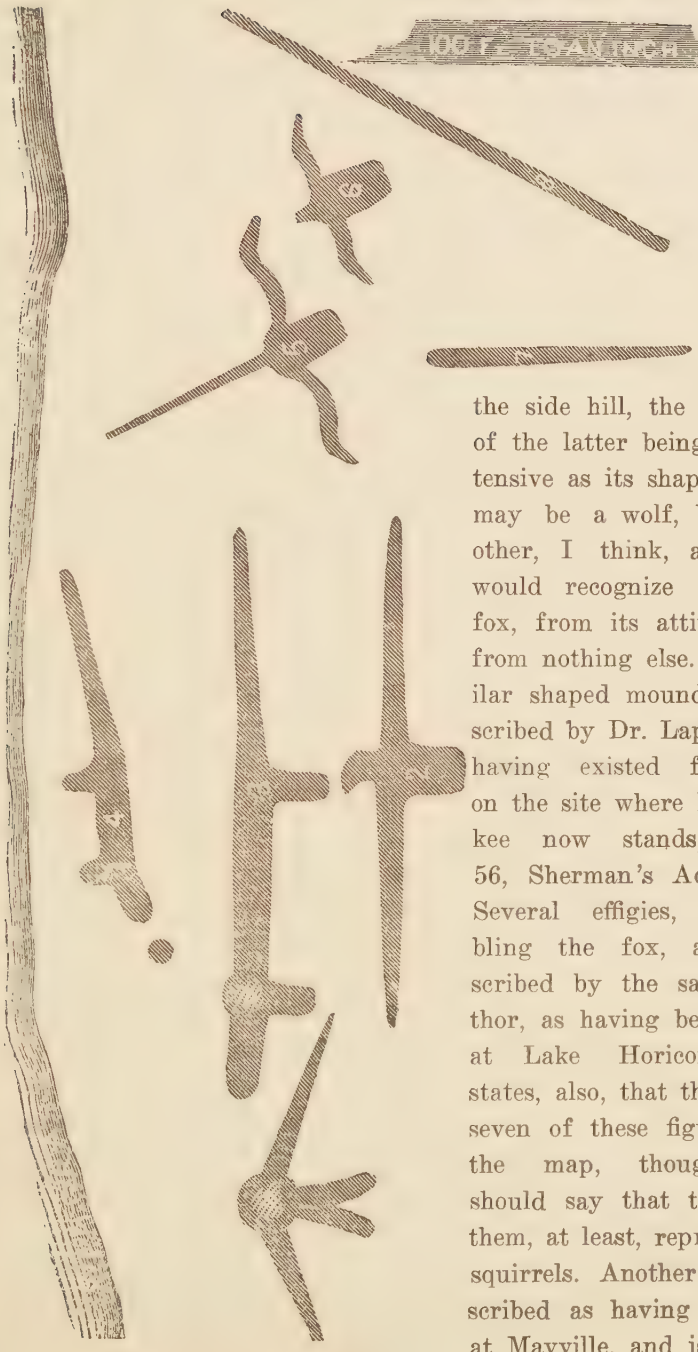


PLATE IV.— MOUNDS AT LAKE WINGRA.

the side hill, the position of the latter being as extensive as its shape. One may be a wolf, but the other, I think, any one would recognize as the fox, from its attitude, if from nothing else. A similar shaped mound is described by Dr. Lapham as having existed formerly on the site where Milwaukee now stands, block 56, Sherman's Addition, Several effigies, resembling the fox, are described by the same author, as having been seen at Lake Horicon. He states, also, that there are seven of these figures on the map, though we should say that three of them, at least, represented squirrels. Another is described as having existed at Mayville, and is repre-

sented in cut 16. A similar effigy may be seen also at Honey Creek, T. 9, R. 6. Several of these figures may be seen in the works on the east side of Green Lake. Here the weasel is in the act of springing at a bird. Several other slim looking animals are found in the same group, although whether they are minks, weasels or foxes is uncertain. Mr. R. C. Taylor has described two animal effigies as situated in Dane County, ten miles west of Madison, and suggests that these figures were intended to represent the fox. Prof. Locke, on the other hand, remarks that they have an expression of fleetness and agility, and may have been intended to represent the cougar, or American tiger. See cut 17.

Fig. 15 — Foxes at Horicon.

5. The buffalo is a very striking effigy, and is somewhat common. We give two or three cuts which contain this figure, connected with a series of long mounds. It is a remarkable fact that this effigy is found almost universally associated with a class of works which we call game-drives, and these cuts are significant on that account. Each of them was taken from Dr. Lapham, and represents the works at Kickapoo and Honey Creek on the Wisconsin River. The buffalo effigy may be seen also on Rock River. It is strange how much the figure of the buffalo resembles the elephant when seen in the soil. The writer came upon an effigy of the buffalo, at one time, near Beloit, and was strangely impressed with the resemblance, especially with the hip and hind quarters. The legs of the effigies are always represented thicker and heavier than natural, and this increased the deception. Had there been a proboscis, it would have been very easy to believe that the elephant was intended.

A mound may be seen now, near the Kickapoo River, which certainly very much resembles an elephant; but as it is associated with two others in the group, which were evidently buffalo, it is probable that this was intended also to represent the same animal.

It is near Beloit, and is connected with a buffalo-drive. On one side of the drive-way, in the same group, is an effigy of a buffalo

Fig. 19.— Buffalo Effigies at Kickapoo River.

bull, but on the other side the figure of a buffalo cow, the general shape and attitude of the one being quite in contrast with the other.

The effigy of the buffalo is also found in Grant County. The late Moses Strong has described a number of works, in which the continuous line of mounds, some of them round, some of them oblong, and some of them buffaloes, may be found extending along the crest of the ridge, and so situated as to command a view on both sides of it. The series of effigies follow around the bends of the bluffs, some of them facing in one direction and some in another; but all of them arranged so as to command an extensive view of both Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers. The series is interrupted in places, so that, for half a mile, no mounds are found. It then follows the bend of the bluffs, and turns at right angles. Here the effigies are headed in the opposite direction.

6. The antelope accompanying the buffalo in the same group is another effigy which is pronounced by Mr. Strong as resembling the deer. Its

characteristics are, that it has a long slim body, and a long slim neck. The figure may represent either the deer or the antelope. This latter animal is known to have abounded here. When the Jesuit missionary, Marquette, first visited Wisconsin, he found animals near the shore of Lake Michigan which he called wild goats. He shot a number of them, as well as a large number of wild turkeys, and several stags or deer. Dr. Hoy has traced the localities where Marquette landed, and thinks he has evidence that the animal called "wild goat" was the antelope. Antelope abounded as far east as the Mississippi River, early in this century. It may be difficult to trace the resemblances in the effigy, but this animal answers to the figure as well as any other.

7. The effigy of the deer. There are a number of such effigies among the mounds of Wisconsin; one of which may be seen at the present time, on the grounds of the Insane Asylum, near Madison. In this figure the form of the deer may be clearly seen, the branching horns rising gracefully from its head. See cut 20.

Fig. 20.

This has been described by Dr. J. N. De Hart. See *Amer. Antiquarian*, Vol. 2, No. 1. A mound with a horn, apparently intended to represent an elk or deer, is described by Dr. Lapham as existing on Honey Creek. Another mound having two horns, is portrayed by Dr. Lapham, and called a deer or elk, but from

Fig. 21. Deer at Muscoda.

its shape and general form, we conclude that it bears more resemblance to the rabbit than the deer, that which was called horns being the ears of the rabbit. Another deer effigy is given by Stephen Taylor—Silliman's *Journal,* January, 1843, Plate 5, No. 5. See Fig. 21.

8. A very common effigy is that of the bear. The writer has traced the outlines of a bear, very faint to be sure, but still plain enough to be seen, on one of the ridges on the east end of Lake Monona. Dr. Lapham has represented the figure of a bear, on Plate 45 of his work, as having been found at Honey Creek. Also at Muscoda, on the Wisconsin River, and at Moundville on the Neenah River. The bear effigy is generally quite distinct, and easily recognized. See cuts 22 and 23. Mr. Taylor discovered

Fig. 22. Bear in Richland Co.

Fig. 23. Bear on English Prairie.

a mound in Richland Co. which was intended to represent a bear. It was fifty-six feet long, and twenty inches high. It has been destroyed by the passage of the road over it. Another, supposed to represent a bear, was situated near Blue River, English Prairie. Its length was eighty-four feet, height six feet.

These effigies are depicted in Squier and Davis, Smithsonian *Contributions,* Vol. 1, Plate 43, Nos. 3 and 10. Another effigy is depicted on the same plate which more resembles the buffalo. Mr. Stephen Taylor observes, with reference to it: "Throughout this region, embankments of this form are very numerous. Some have two parallel projections on the back of the head. In the present case they seem to be so blended as to represent but one." Whether Mr. Taylor refers to other deer effigies by this remark, is uncertain. He describes a group as a series of mammillary mounds, situated in Iowa County, on English

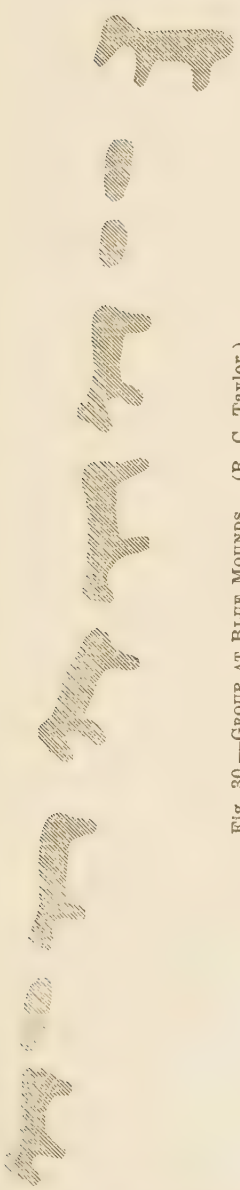


Fig. 30.—Group at Blue Mounds. (R. C. Taylor.)

Prairie. They are beautifully shaped, and with much regularity arranged at intervals for the distance of about fifteen hundred feet, terminating abruptly in a mound eighteen feet high, and two hundred and twenty-five feet in circumference. To the north and south of the figures, and parallel to them, are numerous embankments with passages through them.

A series of mounds are described by Mr. R. C. Taylor, as occurring about twenty-eight miles west of the Four Lakes, near the great Indian trail from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi. The line extends about half a mile. It has been suggested, Mr. Taylor says, that they were designed to represent the buffalo, which formerly abounded in this vicinity; but the absence of a tail, and the characteristic hump of the animal, would seem to point to a different conclusion. They display a closer resemblance to the bear, than to any other animal with which we are familiar. These figures seem to be most prevalent, and though preserving about the same relative proportions, vary in size from ninety to one hundred and twenty feet. Another group is situated on the same trail, ten miles west from Madison. One lies on low, level ground and appears to be solitary. Its head is evidently too large for either buffalo or bear; but it resembles one of these animals as much as anything.

9. The raccoon is another effigy, sometimes seen. A very remarkable specimen of this kind was discovered by the writer

near the banks of Green Lake. The attitude of the coon was a very novel one. It looked as if it had just sprung from a tree, and was sprawling upon the ground, not having gathered itself from its fall. The out-stretched legs and curled tail present a very life-like appearance. The coon was also seen by Dr. Lapham, at various points.

10. The squirrel. This effigy is not so common as some others, but is interesting on account of its attitude. Several such shapes of squirrels may be recognized in the cuts of the mounds at Lake Horicon, and at Mayville. We also give a cut of a squirrel, which may still be seen in effigy form on the ground of Governor Farwell's place, near the Insane Asylum. It will be seen by this that the tail is in the usual proportion to the body, but when seen on the surface of the earth, extending nearly two hundred and fifty feet, it seems almost bewildering in its length. This figure was first described by Dr. De Hart, in the *Amer. Antiquarian*—cut 32. See also Fig. 15.

FIG. 26. SQUIRREL ON ASYLUM GROUNDS, NEAR MADISON.

We close this paper by referring to two effigies concerning which, probably, there will be more inquiry than any other—namely, the man-mounds.

8. In reference to the man-mound, we would say that it is impossible to resist the conviction that the human form was intended by some of these effigies. There are, to be sure, a certain number of them which bear shapes so resembling birds that one is confused, and hardly able to decide which was intended. But there are others which certainly resemble the human shape. The peculiarities of the effigy are that the head is round, and

Fig. 27. Man Effigy, Blue Mounds.

contracted about the neck. The legs are separated, and extend from the body at various angles, and with various length. These features are distinctive. The first person to call attention to this resemblance of certain mounds to the human form was Mr. R. C. Taylor. He says: "The human figure is not uncommon among the effigies, and is always characterized by the extraordinary and unusual length of the arms." One figure which he has depicted is situated in the midst of a group found by him near the Blue Mounds. See Cut 27. It had its arms and legs extended; its length is one hundred and twenty-five feet, and it is one hundred and forty feet from the extremity of one arm to that of the other. Mr. Stephen Taylor, about the same time, also described a human effigy as situated near the interesting group found at Muscoda, in Grant County, about a mile to the west of the group. See Fig. 28. "It represents a human figure, having two heads, which recline over the shoulders. The arms are disproportionately long. The various parts of the figure are gracefully rounded. The stomach and breast are full and well proportioned." Another man-mound has been described by Hon. C. K. Dean, as found at Black Earth, in Smithsonian *Report* for 1872. The arms in this figure were each three hundred and thirty feet in length, or seven hundred feet altogether. The body was one hundred feet in length, the legs each about six hundred feet long. The head was about twenty-five feet in diameter, and the elevation above the surface of the ground about five feet. One such figure may

Fig. 28. Man Effigy. S. 35, Tp. 9, R. 1 W.

be seen at the present time on the banks of the Catfish, southwest from Madison, near Mr. Nichols' house. It is one of a line which form the side of the game-drive, to which we have referred. Another one, also, may be seen near the cemetery, on the banks of Lake Wingra, a cut of which we present (see Plate IV), though it is not a fair specimen of the effigy. We present also a figure, No. 29, which was evidently intended to represent a woman. This figure was seen by Mr. Stephen Taylor within a mile of the Wisconsin River, and in company with a number of other mounds—fifteen in number —this effigy being in the center of the group.[1]

FIG. 29. WOMAN EFFIGY ON WISCONSIN RIVER. S. 35, TP. 9, R. 1 W.

In reference to the elephant mounds, we can say nothing from personal observation. The first one to call attention to this peculiar effigy was Mr. Jared Warner, of Patch Grove, Wis., who says: "The mound has been known here for the last twenty-five years, as the elephant mound." His account of it was published in the Smithsonian *Report* for 1872. It is situated on the high, sandy bottom lands of the Mississippi, on the east side, about eight miles below the mouth of the Wisconsin River. It is in a shallow valley, and only about eight feet above high water, yet it is so situated as always to escape the floods, its position having been very wisely selected. Its total length is one hundred and thirty-five feet; its width, from hind feet to back, sixty feet; from fore feet to back, sixty-six feet; from end of proboscis to neck or throat, thirty-one feet; from end of proboscis to fore legs thirty-nine feet; from fore legs to hind legs, fifty-one feet; across fore legs, twenty-one feet; across hind legs, twenty-four feet; across body, thirty-six feet; general height, five feet.

The late Moses Strong, of our State geological survey, described it, in 1876, and says; "It resembles an elephant much more closely than any other animal, and the resemblance is much more perfect in this than in other effigies."

Dr. J. S. Phené visited it during his tour through the State, and does not hesitate to call it an elephant mound. He also visited a

[1] See *Silliman's Journal*, vol. 38, p. 31.

mound north of Prairie du Chien, which he thinks is an effigy of the camel. It is situated in a ravine which goes by the name of Camel Coolie, the name of the gulch being taken from the camel shape of the mound. We give this account as furnished us by Dr. Phené himself; but the wonder is if the builders of the mounds were acquainted with either of the animals represented, and if so how they became acquainted with them.

A Mound Near Boscobel

By C. K. Dean

This mound, which I opened in the fall of 1858, was located on the very topmost point of the conical, and in most part untimbered bluff, lying about one mile east of the central part of the present city of Boscobel and mostly within the northeast angle of section thirty-five of the town of Boscobel. The mound was about four feet in diameter, circular, and elevated about twenty inches above the stony surface of the crest. Upon excavation, it was found to have been built from the ground up, quite unlike any other aboriginal mound of Wisconsin, of which the Society has record. On removing the outer layer of earth, quite thin, but uniform, a carefully paved layer of thin rock was found, covering the entire surface; this was succeeded by a thin layer of earth, then by another layer of rock, which alternatives continued to the number of four in all. Then was disclosed a rectangular rock enclosure, resting upon the natural surface, about eighteen inches long by twelve inches wide, and six or eight inches deep. This had been capped with a flat rock, which by lapse of time and decay, had become broken, and partially fallen in.

Within this enclosure were found evidences of human cremation, viz.: ashes, coals, and heat stains; and in the center there were the remnants of the sacrifice, indicating the cremation of one large male person, and a female of much smaller size. The skulls were mostly entire, and parts of the larger bones were intact. No implements or archæological specimens whatever were disclosed.

Another peculiarity of this mound was, that, by its location on a site commanding a wide and pleasing view of the Wisconsin River valley, with its charming irregularities of outline, and bold escarpments of the enclosing walls, it indicated a fine esthetic taste on the part of the burying party, not generally accredited to that unknown race.

January 18th, 1882.

Portraits of Columbus

By James Davie Butler, LL. D.

Governor Fairchild.[1]—In behalf of the Historical Society, I have the honor—and it is a very pleasant duty—to thank you for your generous gift. Nothing you could bring us from the ancient kingdom where you have so ably represented our country, could be more acceptable to us. It is a present exactly in keeping with our endeavors during a whole generation. One by one have we hung up in our picture gallery the likeness of our State pioneers, as well as of others famous each after his own fashion in our annals. But the grand link thus far lacking in the chain of our pictorial history, you were among the first to observe to be missing, and you have made haste to supply that missing link.

In this labor of love you have followed the footsteps of an illustrious predecessor. When Jefferson was the American minister in Paris, about 1784, he engaged an artist to take the best copy possible of what passed for the most authentic Columbian likeness in existence—the Medici portrait in Florence[2]—and the original, as most critics think, of the present you bring us to-day. This painting was with Jefferson during his presidency, and he writes about it as one of his chief jewels at Monticello in 1814. In his drawing room there, it hung the second among four portraits on the left as one entered. If Virginia had had any historical society in his time,[3] he must have delighted to enshrine his

[1] Hon. Lucius Fairchild, while United States minister at Madrid, admiring the fine Yanez portrait of Columbus, in the Spanish National Library, closely resembling the famous likeness in the Florentine Gallery, he at once caused a copy to be made by the eminent artist, M. Hernandez, of that city, for the special purpose of adding it to the art collection of our Historical Society. It was a happy thought, promptly and gracefully carried into execution.
L. C. D.

[2] Jefferson's *Works*, vol. vi, pp. 343, 375. *Domestic Life*, Sarah N. Randolph.

[3] The Virginia Historical Society was not founded until five years after Jefferson's death, or in 1831.

Christopher Columbus

Photograph from copy by Hernandez (in Museum of Wisconsin Historical Society) of the Yanez portrait at Madrid

pictorial memorial within its walls, deeming it as he wrote, "a matter even of public concern that our country should not be without it."

What has become of this Jeffersonian relic, is a question we naturally ask. I have corresponded regarding it with Lossing, who has illustrated so many of our worthies, and with Parton, the latest biographer of Jefferson. Neither of them could give me any inkling of its fate. I next wrote to Miss Sarah N. Randoph, a great granddaughter of Jefferson, and the author of a volume on his domestic life. In her answer were these words:

"The Columbus and other portraits having been reserved at the sale of Mr. Jefferson's effects, were sent to Boston, where it was supposed, there would be a better chance of selling them to advantage. They were intrusted to Mr. Coolidge, who married my aunt. They are both now dead, and I wrote to their daughter, telling her of your desire to know about the Columbus. She writes that she knows nothing of it, and would not know that such a picture had been at Monticello, but for the fact that it is mentioned in my book." "I have often," Miss Randolph continues, "wished to trace this picture up; but suppose there is now no hope of doing so. My uncle has been dead only three years, and a single word from him would have told all."

Thus my research seemed in vain. Notwithstanding it has been my fortune to discover the lost likeness; if not America, at least its discoverer. The word *Boston* in Miss Randolph's letter put me on the track. Had I been in that city I would have gone at once to the building of the Massachusetts Historical Society, assured that all historic gems must gravitate thither. But I was a thousand miles away, and so I scrutinized their publications. In their *Collections* (3rd series, vol. vii., p. 285), I came to a notice of a portrait of Columbus, presented by Israel Thorndike,[1] and in their *Proceedings* (vol. II., pp. 23, 25), I observed

[1] To the same merchant prince of Boston, Harvard owes the gift of a treasure, which the German Professor, Ebeling, had been fifty years in collecting, and which, at his death, was the finest in existence, namely nearly four thousand volumes of books relative to America, and almost ten thousand maps, charts and views.

that the donor, in his letter of presentation (Nov. 26, 1835), described the Columbian portrait as "a copy from an original in the Gallery Medicis (sic), at Florence, for Thomas Jefferson."

It was a pleasure to ascertain that Jefferson's favorite hangs just where he would have it—in the hall of that Society which has done most to elucidate the annals of the country over which Jefferson presided, and of the continent which Columbus revealed.

In 1814, Mr. Delaplaine, father of our townsman, was publishing in Philadelphia his *Repository of Distinguished Americans*. He made strenuous efforts to obtain for his frontispiece a drawing from the Jeffersonian portrait. Failing in this endeavor, he was forced to have recourse to a painting by Macella, copied from some fancy portrait,[1] cased in plate armor, and lettuce ruffs with features as divergent as the costume from the genuine type.

Investigations of every sort regarding Columbus are now seasoned by special seasonableness, inasmuch as we have already entered the last decade before the fourth centennial anniversary of the great discovery—an era that will be celebrated from pole to pole.

In tracing the Jeffersonian portrait of Columbus, I first became aware that no monograph on the general subject of Columbian portraits was discoverable in English, and scarcely in any language. The only article I found was a gossippy letter in a New York daily paper from Irving in his old age, which showed that he had never given the subject more than superficial attention. In Poole's corpulent *Index* to seven thousand volumes of periodicals, you can detect no single paper concerning portraits of Columbus. My treatment of the theme, then, is tilling a virgin field.

My investigation has brought me into correspondence with all the world. Among those to whom I owe special thanks are General B. Alvord, of Washington; Professor Norton, of Harvard University; Mary Cowden Clarke; the United States ministers or consuls in Mexico, Lisbon and Genoa; Chief Justice Daly, of New York; H. A. Homes, W. C. Todd, Bela Hubbard,

[1] Larousse—"Purely fanciful." Jefferson's *Works*, vol. vi, pp. 343, 375.

E. M. Barton, Miss Sarah N. Randolph, A. H. Hoyt, Mellen Chamberlain, William H. Wyman, George H. Moore, John Ward Dean, John R. Bartlett, Ralph U. James, and the Duke of Veragua himself.

The oldest Columbian portrait of which I discover any trace in the United States now hangs in the New York senate chamber at Albany. It was presented to the State in 1784, by Mrs. Maria Farmer, a granddaughter of Jacob Leisler, governor of New York, in 1689. According to her statement the painting had been in her family for a hundred and fifty years. It may then have been brought from Europe more than two centuries ago. In one corner it bears the inscription, "anno [1592] or 1492, Aet. 23." This legend may indicate the year in which the copy was taken, and the age of the copyist.[1] This likeness is of a younger man than we can believe Columbus to have been when his first portrait was painted, and it is not now generally deemed authentic.

Your gift is small to the eye, but it is great to the mind I for one could not appreciate its value till after considerable research.[2]

---

[1] *Catalogue* N. Y. State Library, p. 45. *Magazine of Amer. History,* vol. v, p. 446.

[2] During my investigation, engravings of Columbian portraits have come to my knowledge in great numbers. The oldest of all painted likenesses, the Florentine Uffizi, dating from 1568, or probably from an earlier year. A photograph of this has been ordered from Florence. Among those owned by the State Historical Society are the following:

1. The Giovian woodcut, dating from 1575 or '78.
2. The Yanez portrait from Madrid, unscoured.
3. The same, scoured.
4. The De Bry likeness, Frankfort, 1595.
5. The Carriolo likeness, Rome, 1596.
6. The Naples likeness, by Parmigiano.
7. The Munoz likeness.
8. The bust in Genoa.
9. The statue in Genoa.
10. The Bryant and Gay likeness from an old map.
11. The Harper Magazine likeness.
12. The Bibliotheque National, p. 150, Goodrich.
13. The Albany likeness.
14. The Herrera, p. 219, Goodrich.
15. The Venetian Mosaic.
16. A German likeness, p. 382, Goodrich.
17. The Bernado likeness.
18. Columbus at St. Christopher, p. 153, Goodrich.
19. The Jeffersonian Columbus in Boston, heliotype.
20. The Crispin de Pas.

The so-called likenesses of Columbus are mostly fancy sketches. As men have made to themselves gods, each after his own national image, so have they portrayed their heroes, and not least our heroic discoverer. The great navigator as represented at Madrid, in the palace of the Duke of Berwick-Alba, is seated on a throne, and arrayed in high colored silks and embroidery, while his features are no more true to nature than his dress. This painting is said to be a copy from a likeness in Havana, which has often been sought for but always in vain.[1] It is the original of the largest known Columbian engraving which bears this inscription: "The original was painted in America by Van Loo." *El cuadro original fue pintado en America por Van Loo.* When was Van Loo in America? The gods, one would think, must annihilate both time and space to make the owner of such a sham happy. Yet a copy of this engraving was highly prized by the late Mr. Lenox, and now adorns his library in Central Park. He supposed that the Duke of Alba portrait had been painted in the lifetime of Columbus.[2]

In the Cuban consistorial hall at Havana, Columbus appears dressed as a familar of the inquisition.[3] In one likeness he resembles an effeminate Narcissus; in many others the costume and arrangement of hair are in a style unknown to his century, while his lineaments are treated with no less license than his vestments. Seeing Columbus thus transformed—or rather deformed—we are reminded of personal caricatures in Punch, of Mark Twain, asking "Is he dead?" or of a heathen idol baptized with the name of saint, so that what was carved for Jupiter becomes Jew Peter.

More than one canvas passing for a Columbian portrait is a palimpsest; that is, it shows traces of a former name having been erased in order that the word Columbus might be inscribed. Productions betraying such an *alias* remind us of a dinner scene in Mark Twain's *Tramp Abroad.* An American complained that

---

[1] Carderera, p. 8.
[2] *Cat. of Ticknor's Spanish Books in Boston Public Library*, p. 95. Carderera, p. 23.
[3] *Magazine of Amer. History*, vol. i, p. 510.

having ordered champagne, he had been served with *vin ordinaire*. The steward took the bottle—saw that it bore the words *vin ordinaire,* and acknowledged the mistake. He then called a waiter to bring a champagne label, and pasted it on in place of the words objected to, saying, "You now have, sir, what you ordered, and as good champagne as we ever furnish."

About thirty years ago, Judge Ira Barton, a member of the American Antiquarian Society, in Worcester, Massachusetts, seeing in the picture gallery at Naples a portrait by Parmigiano which was called Columbus, obtained a copy of it, painted by an Italian artist named Scardino, and gave it to the Society for hanging in its hall. But the painter was only three years old at the death of Columbus; and so even in the view of its donor this painting was only an ideal likeness. In truth, it is not so much as that. According to Professor C. E. Norton, of Cambridge, "it is no longer held by any competent critic to be an authentic likeness." The Spanish painter and investigator, Carderera, goes further, and in disproof of its pretensions discourses as follows:

"We now come to notice the famous portrait which hangs in the Royal Museo Borbonico at Naples, attributed to the elegant pencil of Parmigiano. As this celebrated painting has of late misled very respectable persons, and has been reproduced in engravings at Naples, as well as in France and England,[1] it seems necessary to subject it to a careful analysis. Bechi, who has described this beautiful work, confesses that the eminent artist had to paint the portrait from imagination. M. Jomard, of the French National Library, is of the same opinion, and yet advised the Genoese nobles commissioned to raise a statue of the great man that their artists should inspire themselves at this notable printing. We must, in many points, differ from the opinions of the two distinguished persons we have just mentioned. Having carefully examined the portrait in Naples, we have come to doubt whether the Parmesan artist intended it to be a likeness of Colum-

[1] This Neapolitan likeness was reproduced as the frontispiece in one of the volumes of Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*. It was engraved in 1882 by George E. Perine, expressly for the *American Eclectic Magazine*. It was an odd blunder to make a misnomer of the subject of so fine a work of art.

bus at all. There is scarcely any point of resemblance between the authentic [word?] portraits of the Admiral which so clearly reveal the frank manner, and a certain courtier-like delicacy and reserve which appear in the Neapolitan canvas.

"Still more noticeable is the contrast between the garb and the austere aspect of our hero, and the exquisite and effeminate decorations of a personage whose physiognomy, very long and lean, differs most widely from the oval and strongly marked face of the Admiral—an aspect noble, clear, and lit up by genius. Neither the hair which adorns the temples of the Neapolitan figure with symmetrical and elegant locks, nor the whiskers and long beard, nor the curls smoothly arranged, were seen, save in rarest exceptions, in the age of Ferdinand and Isabella, either in Spain, or in Italy, or in other civilized regions of Europe; much less up to the first years of Charles V., could any one meet with a slashed German red cap with plume and gold studs. The same may be said concerning other parts of the attire—as the silk sleeves hooped by fillets, lace about the hands, gloves, a finger ring, and other refinements which characterize a finished gallant of the sixteenth century.

It may be said that the medal which adorns the cap in the Neapolitan picture is stamped with a ship steering out beyond the pillars of Hercules. Admit, that it does, may it not be no more than one of these devices then so much in vogue, and concerning which Giovio, Ruscelli, Cappacio, and other ingenious Italians wrote so many volumes. The vice-king of Catalonia bore as a device the sea-compass; Isabel of Corregio, had for hers two anchors in the sea. Stephen Colonna had two columns painted in the deep sea with a band connecting them, and inscribed *His suffulta!* We could cite a hundred examples of picture restorers destroying accessories and legends, as well as cleansing and re-touching audaciously, and for the worse. Who can satisfy us that the Neapolitan portrait has not suffered a similar degradation?"

On the whole, Carderera decides that Parmigiano's painting had no reference to Columbus; but was more probably a likeness of one Giberto de Sassuolo. It may be added, that when Parmigiano

had painted a Venus, and then received a commission for a Virgin Mary, he passed off his queen of beauty, with some trifling changes for the queen of saints. Nor were Venus and the Virgin more unlike each other than was a finical courtier to any fair setting forth of Columbus.

Equally untrustworthy has one portrait owned by the Duke of Veragua, a descendant of the great admiral, now been proved. Regarding this work, an eminent Spanish artist says: "Its date cannot be earlier than the end of the seventeenth century; it has whiskers and ruffles which were unknown for more than one generation after Columbus. Nothing more than a copy of this modern fancy is to be seen in the archives of the Indies at Seville, or in the grand engraving published by Munoz." A copy of the Veragua portrait was presented in 1818 to the Pennsylvania Academy of Arts, by R. W. Meade. In the light of subsequent criticism, it turns out a less valuable benefaction than was supposed alike by the donor and by the receivers.

No less unsatisfactory is the bust in possession of the New York Historical Society. It is a facsimile of an ideal in the Protometeca of the Capitoline Museum at Rome. There was one picture brought out at Frankfort, in 1595, with two warts on the left cheek, and a full bottomed wig by Theodore Bry, a German engraver, who called it Columbus, and claimed that its original had been executed by order of the Spanish monarchs, when Columbus was about starting on his first voyage. At that early period, however, those sovereigns were so far from caring for his portrait, that they shipped him off beyond the sea to get rid of his presence, which was as vexatious to them as the importunate widow to the unjust judge. Besides, in this painting the physiognomy is totally unlike the delineations by the discoverer's intimates. The nose was flat and snub—not aquiline. This mercantile speculation, for it was nothing else, is a Dutch face, and looks as if a Dutchman made it. It is inscribed *Indiarum primus inventor*. Its pretensions have been exploded by Navarrete.[1]

In looking at this Dutch imposture, I am reminded of the tourist, who, when the skull of St. Peter was exhibited in Rome,

[1] Harrissee, *Notes*, p. 163. *Memorias*, vol. viii, p. 18, Boletin i, p. 3, 245.

cried out—"I saw another skull of Peter on my way hither." "No doubt you did," said the relic shower, but what you saw was the cranium of Peter, the fisher boy; what I hold up is the head of Peter the full grown apostle!" In any view of the matter, what was the Dutch Columbus who had not yet embarked, to him who had crossed and re-crossed the mighty deep, bearing Christ to the Indies, and the Indies to Christendom. But critics are now agreed that there is no likelihood that any portrait whatever of the great discoverer was painted before his great discovery.

In 1821, Peschiera, commissioned by the city of Genoa to carve a bust which was to stand on a shrine inclosing various autograph papers of Columbus, according to Irving, discarded all portraits known to him, and drew his ideal from ancient descriptions of the great admiral. His effort gave no permanent satisfaction. His handiwork was ere long supplanted by a second bust, and that in a few years by a third. This three-headed Columbus deserves the name of Cerberus—at least consecutive, if not a simultaneous, Cerberus.

Disgusted with counterfeit presentments of Columbus, which were counterfeits indeed, the authorities of Genoa wishing to erect a worthy monument of its greatest son,[1] sought all through the world for his most authentic likeness in order to show forth at the entry of its gates, and in its chief place of concourse, the man himself, and not a mockery of him. The results of this research are worth our noting, and the more as they have not yet appeared in English. After long deliberation the Madrid Historical Society advised the Genoese to model their statue not according to any likeness in Spain, as national pride might have dictated, but by the Florentine painting from which Jefferson's copy was made, as well as according to an ancient woodcut, and an engraving, which had been early derived from the same source with that painting.[2]

What was that source? It was the museum of Paolo Giovio, on the site of Pliny's villa, by the Lake of Como. About the

[1] Carderera *Preface, Boletin*, vol. i, p. 244.

[2] *Boletin* i, p. 253. No. vacilamos en presentar el retrato de Florencia, y el grabado de Capriolo, como los tipos que pueden suministrar mas datos para reproducir la imagen del insigne Genoves. Carderera p. 11.

middle of the sixteenth century, Cristofano dell'Altissimo was despatched to this museum by the Duke of Tuscany to copy portraits. Vasari[1] relates that before 1568 he had completed more than two hundred and eighty[2] of them, and that they were then arranged in the Florentine Museum. They hang there to this day. Columbus is No. 397. But whether the face of Columbus was among those painted by Cristofano cannot be proved from Bohn's edition of Vasari, nor by any edition in any language in the Boston Athenaeum or Public Library, for I have had them both searched. But all the names are chronicled in the Giunti edition, and perhaps in that alone.

Despairing for a while of discovering the Giunti edition of Vasari which, half a century ago, was set down in Brunet's *Bibliography* as "rare and much sought for;" and so of securing the testimony of the only competent and credible witness known to me regarding the origin of the Florentine Columbus, I was all the more delighted to gain the information I desired from Professor Norton, of Harvard University, who wrote me as follows:

"I am glad to say that I happen to have the Giunti edition of Vasari. The list of portraits in the Museo of the Duke Cosimo occupies three pages and part of a fourth. It begins with Condottieri, who are followed by kings and emperors, these by emperors of the Turks, and other heroes; these by "heroic men," of whom the first eight are:

1. Alberto Duro.
2. Leonardo da Vinci.
3. Titziano.
4. Michael Angelo Buonarroti.
5. Americo Vespucci.
6. *Colombo Genovese.*[3]
7. Ferdinando Magellane.
8. Ferdinando Cortese.

---

[1] *Lives of Painters*, vol. v, p. 478.

[2] In some editions the number is set down as two hundred and fifty.

[3] The name Colombo Genovese has been at last discovered by Judge Daly in one other edition of Vasari, namely, the Bologna of 1647. He describes it as hid away in a corner, that is "in the appendix to vol. iii, signature F. f. f., third sheet back." Ms. letter of Judge Daly.

The Florentine Columbus then, is not an *original*, though Mr. Jefferson, as was not surprising in his day, had fallen into the mistaken idea that it was. He says: "The Columbus was taken for me from the original, which is in the gallery of Florence. I say from an original, because it is well known that in collections of any note, and that of Florence is the first in the world, no copy is ever admitted, and an original existing in Genoa would readily be obtained for a royal collection in Florence.[1] Vasari names this portrait, but does not say by whom it was made." The Florentine Columbus cannot have been painted later than 1568, when Vasari's notice of it was printed. It may be a score of years older than that date. It must be, if Columbus was among the first portraits copied by Cristofano. Though not an original, it is older than any other likeness can be proved, and probably older than any other one claims to be. Its painter was sent to copy in the Giovian Museum, because there was the best portrait gallery in existence. Giovio had long lavished labor and lucre alike in forming it.[2]

Before 1546, the Giovian Museum had become so famous that it drew things of like nature to itself. In that year, Giulio Romano bequeathed to it a collection of portraits which Raphael had had made from stanzas in the Vatican.[3] Among these were Charles VII, King of France; Antonio Colonna, Prince of Salerno; Niccolo Fortebraccio; Francesco Carmignuola; Cardinal Bessarion; Francesco Spinola, and Battista da Canneto. As the place where works of art would be most carefully preserved, best shown, and most appreciated, that repository might well be considered the niche which such treasures were ordained to fill. Accordingly it is not incredible, that if any art collector left no legacy to the Giovian reservoir, his neglect was judged to be such a proof of insanity as to warrant breaking his will.

Ticozzi has published eight volumes, and Bottari various notices, evincing Giovio's pains to secure authentic portraits. His letters to Duke Cosmo, to Doni, to Aretino, Titian, and others,

[1] Jefferson's *Works*, vol. vi, p. 375.
[2] Carderera, p. 11.
[3] Vasari, vol. ii, p. 17.

show solicitude lest some likenesses were not faithful or worthy of faith.[1] Regarding the authenticity and accuracy of his Columbus he seems to have had no misgivings. Concerning that hero, his first words are *Hac honestissima fronte hominem*—this man with honor so legible on his face. Giovio's residence was not far from his contemporary Giustiniani, whose biographical notice of Columbus antedates all others which have thus far come to light, and who may have guided Giovio to a picture of the discoverer. At the death of Columbus, Giovio was twenty-three years old. He was one of the foremost to recognize the grandeur of the Columbian revelation, and he wrote:[2] "It seems that Columbus is worthy to be honored by the Genoese with a most splendid statue"—*Sic ut Columbus videri possit dignus qui a Liguribus lucerlentissima statua decoretur.*

While holding this view, and so careful regarding the accuracy of other likenesses, was he negligent regarding Columbus? His museum was situated in a Spanish province; his agents were abroad in Spain, perhaps so early, that if no portrait existed, they could have had one executed. Besides how unlikely, when other honors were showered upon Columbus, and Giovio counted him worthy of the best possible statue, that no one was found to sketch his features, above all since he survived till painters from his native Italy were common in Spain. Chief Justice Daly has furnished me the names of no less than sixteen artists in that peninsula contemporary with Columbus, and any one of whom might have painted him. Those names are as follows: Juan Sanchez de Castro, founder of the Seville school, who survived Columbus ten years; Pedro Sanchez, Juan Nunez, Gonzalo Diaz, Nicholas Francisco Pisan, George Ingles, Frutos Flores, Juan Flamenco, Francisco de Amberes, Juan de Flandres, Juan de Borgona, Antonio del Rincon, Peres de Velloldo, Garcia del Barcia, Juan Rodriguez, and perhaps Pedro del Berrugueto.

One of the portraits painted from life secured by Giovio, in the judgment of Crowe and Cavalcaselle,[3] was that of Mohammed II.,

[1] Carderera, p. 17.
[2] In *Christopheri Columbi elogio.*
[3] *History of Painting in North Italy,* vol. i, p. 125.

by Gentile Bellini. Who will believe that Giovio was more anxious to obtain a truthful presentment of a Turk than of a countryman, of the conqueror of an old city than of the discoverer of the New World? Whom he himself styled "*Stupendi alterius et nulli ante sæculo cognita terrarum orbis repertor, incomparabilis Liguribus honos, factus mortalium celaberrimus,*" etc.

The woodcut, which has been already alluded to, was published at Basel, in 1578, to illustrate a eulogy on Columbus that had been written by Giovio. According to its editor, Perna, that woodcut was derived from a portrait in the Giovian Museum, which had been painted from life. His words are these: "I have at much expense employed an eminent artist to engrave the Giovian portraits painted from life"—and, so far as appears, no others than those painted from life. His language as quoted by Carderera is: *Ho mandado dibujar con mucho dispendio a un sobresaliente artista los retratos pintados al vivo (ad vivum), que decoraban el Museo de Giovio.*[1] An ancient engraving in the great library of Paris is inscribed: "From a portrait painted from nature (*peint sur nature*),[2] in the Museum of Giovio, and no other specimen in the vast collection makes that claim. The woodcuts of some other notables in Giovio's book being known to be correct, it is a natural inference that that which represents Columbus is likewise worthy of credit.

It is also asserted by Spanish critics, that a family likeness to the Giovian type as shown in the Florentine copy, and in the woodcut, is clear in most old and famous likenesses, as in the Belvedere at Vienna, the Borghese at Rome, the Cancellieri from Cuccaro, the Altamira, the Malpica, the Naval Museum,[3] the Villa Franca, and the Yanez in Spain.[4] From the last of these, bought from Yanez of Granada, in 1763, by the government, and now hanging in the National Library, your present was painted.

---

[1] Carderera, p. 15. The Basel edition in the Library of Congress bears a date three years earlier than that given by Carderera, namely, 1575.
[2] Larousse.
[3] Carderera, p. 11, note.
[4] Carderera, pp. 18 and 24. The projecting lower lip and curved nose of the present Duke of Veragua, a lineal descendant of Columbus, resembles the Giovian prototypes.

The engraving where Columbus holds an octant in his hand, was first published at Cologne, in 1598, by Crispin de Pas [Pasaeus]. When critically examined, it also turns out to be nothing but a free imitation of the Giovian woodcut which came out in Basel twenty years before.[1]

The portraitures I have last passed in review are the more reliable, because they show the person of Columbus as we have it described by his own son, as well as by his contemporary, Oviedo; that is, face large and ruddy, cheek bones rather high, nose aquiline, eyes light, hair blonde in youth, but at thirty years old already white.[2] It would seem, however, from all his pictures, that he must have dyed his hair—or artists of old, as now, may have loved to show a man still at his best and fullest.

In the list of Giovian portraits copied by Cristofano, Columbus stands between Americus and Magellan. He who disputes the authenticity of Columbus, must push his skepticism further, unless the features of Americus and Magellan are confirmed by other evidence. If they are, they heighten the certainty that the Columbian likeness is likewise truthful. The Swiss woodcut of 1578, antedates all others; yet it is by no means in good preservation. Accordingly, the Roman drawing by Capriolo, published in 1596, with another from Cucarro and the painting in Florence—the original of yours as many critics say—were recommended by Spain to the Genoese as the best models in form and features of the countryman whom they most delighted to honor.

Thanks to these archetypes, somewhat idealized it may be, his native city, in 1862, completed a monument to Columbus, designed by Canzio,[3] which puts to shame our ridiculous figure by the Neapolitan Persico perched on the capitol steps at Washington, in 1844, where he who gave us our continent is clad in a sort of mail not invented at his era, and standing with the globe poised

[1] Carderera, p. 18.
[2] Carderera, p. 7. La cara larga, las megillas un poco altas, la nariz aguilena, los ojos blancos [garzos Herrera] y il color encendido, etc.
[3] A picture of this grand Genoese tribute to Columbus may be found in Henry Harrisse's *Notes on Columbus*, p. 182.

in his hand like a nine-pin ball, seems ready to bowl it through an alley.

The grand Genoese statue of Columbus represents him leaning on an anchor, and America sitting at his feet. Not far off there is an inlaid tablet inscribed:

Dissi, volli, credi! Ecco un secondo
Sorger nuovo dall'onde ignote mondo.
"His wish, his faith, his word; from unknown surges.
Behold a second world, new found emerges!"

The crowning statue on the Genoese monument was first ordered from the sculptor Bartolotti, or Bartolini, who shortly after died. It was then given to Freccia, who had but just finished a rough model when he became a maniac and died. From his model, however, it was finished by Franzone and Svanascini, of Carrara. A good authority also assured me, that "for the features they relied upon a drawing made from a portrait hanging in the palace of the Duke of Veragua at Madrid, a descendant of Columbus. The duke had the drawing made, and sent it to Genoa for that purpose."

This statement was made in a private letter from John F. Hazelton, United States consul at Genoa. I wish it were correct, for the principal portraits in the possession of the Duke of Veragua are first, one painted from the Cucarro[1] likeness, which is a descendant from the Giovian portrait through the Capriolo engraving; and secondly,[2] a copy from the likeness in the National Library (Biblioteca Nacional), the identical Yanez from which our copy was obtained. The consul was, however, misinformed. A letter from the Duke of Veragua himself assures me that the Genoese, when building their Columbian monument, *did not consult with him at all.* The duke's words are: *Los artistos de Genova no me consultaron quando se construjo el monumento a quelle se refiere.*

Though so many Columbian portraits point to Giovio's Museum as their mother, and bear a family likeness, as in scale, attitude and material, and the eyes in all look to the right, they dif-

[1] Carderera, p. 23.
[2] Ms. letter from Duke of Veragua, January 25, 1883.

fer in accessories, especially in costume and hair, as well as in expression, ranging from sad to cheerful. The woodcut and the Florentine copy are so divergent in dress, though the features are alike, that recent critics hold that Giovio had *two* Columbian likenesses. The costume in the woodcut corresponds to what the curate of Palacios,[1] Andrea Bernaldez, saw Columbus wearing in June, 1496, namely, a dress in color and fashion like a Franciscan friar's, but shorter, and for devotion, girt with the rope of a cordelier.

The costume in your gift, strikes men now exactly as the actual garb of Columbus struck the Spanish curate. While your Columbus was being framed here in Madison, every person who came into the shop said to the workman, "What Catholic priest have you here?" In the era of Columbus it was a popular faith that no one was sure of salvation unless he died in a religious dress. The religiosity of Columbus was as great as that of any man—

> ——"Who to be sure of Paradise
> Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,
> Or in Franciscan thought to pass disguised."

He was, in fact, buried at Valladolid in the monastery of St. Francis, and that in the habit of a Franciscan friar.[2] But as a sailor's garments were then like a Franciscan's, some hold that Columbus chose to be so painted with allusion to what he had himself achieved as a sailor. What costume so befitting the great admiral as that in which, as is most probable, he really stood on his forecastle during the night, when he united forever the two hemispheres hitherto always disjoined?

The genuineness of the Giovian portrait is argued from its dress being similar to the Franciscan friar's frock. A portrait in such a costume, it is maintained, would never have been admitted among those of Americus, Magellan, and Cortez, with other military heroes, unless known to be either original or copied from

[1] Vino el Almirante en Castilla en el mes de junio de 1496, vestido de unas ropas de color de habito de San Francisco de Observancia, en la hachura poco menos que habito, y con cordon de San Francisco por devocion. Carderera, p. 19.

[2] Carderera, p. 19.

one indubitably drawn from life. The dress also points to a Spanish origin, because Italian artists already insisted on tricking out their personages—even contemporaries—in the robes of ancient Romans, as Malone improved the bust on Shakspeare's tomb by whitewashing it all over.

One point in the Columbian investigation, namely—what has become of the one or more most ancient portraits which adorned the Museum of Giovio, has been strangely neglected. One investigator, however, Carderera, states that the collection was divided between the families of two Giovian counts, the descendants of whom are still residing in the city of Como. Something of it remained in 1780, when a letter from Giambattista Giovio to Tiraboschi described its relics, which, according to Crowe and Cavalcaselle,[1] continued undispersed to the very close of the eighteenth century. It is possible, then, that research about Como may be rewarded by the discovery of a Columbian likeness which shall become as famous in its line as the Vatican codex is among Biblical manuscripts,—yes, as pre-eminent as that codex would stand if the Alexandrian and Sinaitic codices had never existed.

In 1763, a portrait of Columbus, with those of Cortez, Lope and Quevedo, was purchased from N. Yanez,[2] who had brought it from Granada, by the Spanish government. No trace of any such picture having been at an earlier period in the Royal Picture Gallery has been detected. So long was the revealer of the Western hemisphere unappreciated in Castile and Leon. This Yanez likeness was hung in the National Library (Biblioteca Nacional) and soon confessed by art critics to resemble closely in features that in the Florentine Uffizi—the oldest of known date, and that from which Jefferson's copy had been taken. It was highly praised by Navarrete,[3] in his grand work, which is a nobler monument to Columbus than the labor of an age in piled stones.

But Spanish artists were long ago satisfied, that the Yanez portrait had been tampered with by some audacious restorer, and they at length obtained permission to test it with chemicals.[4]

---

[1] *History of Painting in North Italy,* vol. i, p. 126. London, 1871.
[2] *Boletin,* i. No. 3, p. 267.
[3] Same, p. 253.
[4] *Boletin,* vol. i. No. 4, p. 327.

From side to side of the upper margin of the picture there ran the legend CHRISTOF. COLUMBUS NORI (sic) ORBIS INVENTOR. These words were first subjected to the artist's test, and as they vanished, quite another inscription came out beneath them, namely, the words COLOMB. LYGUR. NOVI ORBIS REPTOR (sic). The variations not only proved that the likeness had been repainted, but that the second painter was inferior to the first, since *repertor* means to find by seeking, which *inventor* does not. The testers had no hesitation about proceeding further. The flowing robe with a heavy fur collar, as they said, "more befitting a Muscovite than a mariner," vanished, while a simple garb, only a closely fitting tunic, and a mantle folded across the breast, rose to view. The eyes, nose, lower lip, facial oval, all assumed a new expression. The air of monastic sadness vanished.

Senor Cubells and his assistants, who had begun their work nervously, finished it with glad surprise when they beheld the great discoverer throwing off the disguises that had been thrust upon him; and, as it were, emancipated from the chains with which he was bound in his lifetime, and which were buried in his coffin.

"As if he whom the asp
In its marble grasp,
Kept close and for ages strangled,
Got loose from the hold
Of each serpent fold,
And exulted disentangled."

A copy of this resuscitated Columbus was painted for you, and it forms the present which you bestow on the Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Carderera, the great Spanish authority on Columbian portraits, regrets that while sojourning at the lake of Como, he had neglected to search in all highways and byways for the likeness that stood in the Museum of Giovio there, and which may be still lurking in some unsuspected corner. Friends of mine, now traveling abroad, have promised to spend time and money in making such research.

But some Spanish investigators hold that labors in this direction are needless. Signor Rios y Rios, in a recent *Bulletin* of

the Madrid Academy,[1] maintains that the long-lost and much desiderated Giovian portrait—the prototype of which all Columbian likenesses of any value are copies, has been found already. He holds that the Yanez portrait is nothing less than that Giovian jewel. He adduces many circumstances which serve to thicken other proofs of his position that do demonstrate thinly. Let us trust that this discovery of the great discoverer, which was as unlooked for as his own discovery of America, may prove as undubitable.

In the Yellowstone National Park there are springs strongly impregnated with mineral matter. In one of these, if a man be immersed, as we dip a wick to make a tallow candle, he soon becomes marble all over, through and through—in a word, his own statue. It has been suggested that this wonderful spring should be utilized as an economical mode of immortalizing members of Congress, and procuring statues of indisputable accuracy for filling the temple of glory which has been opened in Washington. Our superabundance of statesmen would thus be reduced, as many a celebrity might be led to speedy suicide, in order to be seen by posterity still at his best and fullest.

However this may be, it cannot be sufficiently regretted that these wonder-working waters were not discovered by the discoverer of America. In that case we might have had his own form and features eternized in a prototype—yes, an autotype beyond all question or cavil; and, best of all, one that would never need to be *whitewashed*, at least not in the Washington sense of the term.

Certain New York spiritualists, having secured the aid of Leonardo da Vinci, profess to have just supplied the world with the first authentic likeness of Confucius. It may be they will produce a Columbus with claims to accuracy which will rival what you bring us. But outside the gallery of spirit-art you need fear no rivalry.

Our special thanks are due to you, sir, for this genuine likeness, because so many counterfeits are abroad. We thank you

[1] *Boletin*, I, pp. 3, 253.

the more because it is still disputed, and perhaps doubtful, where the ashes of our great voyager now repose.[1] It is claimed in Cuba, that those remains were transported to that island in 1796; but San Domingans assert that they then, with pious fraud, delivered up only sham relics, while retaining and secreting the veritable treasure. Be this as it may, and though every bone of Columbus shall turn to dust, till the world can boast no hair of him for memory, thanks to Giovio and his artists, his face, his form, his habit as he lived, triumph over death, and, enshrined in our historic hall, thanks to you, they shall become as familiar as household words to the people of this Commonwealth, where you have served as chief magistrate longer than any other man. In the new and noble gallery now in preparation for our pictures, your benefaction shall close the grandest vista. *Esto perpetua!*

NOTE.—Having begged information regarding the portrait of Columbus now in the New York capitol of Dr. H. A. Homes, the State librarian, that gentleman has brought to my knowledge several interesting particulars which have long lain, as it were, buried alive, in the *Appendix to the Journal* of the New York State senate for the year 1850, pp. 788–792. The substance of the details there given is as follows:

The Columbian portrait given, in 1784, by Maria Farmer to the senate of New York, was accepted with grateful acknowledgments. At that time the city of New York was the seat of the State government, and when, in 1797, the capital was removed to Albany, this picture was left behind. It seems to have been forgotten, and continued neglected or abstracted for many years. On the 26th of March, 1827, however—thanks perhaps to the publication of Irving's biography—it was resolved by the senate in Albany, that the Maria Farmer portrait of Columbus be removed from the city of New York, and put up in some suitable place in the senate chamber. Accordingly, the clerk of the senate visited the city of New York, and, after considerable search, discovered in the garret of the city hall, and identified, the Farmer portrait. Onward from that era this picture has hung either in the senate chamber or in its ante-room, and for some years over the fireplace, so that it became much warped and injured. Hence, in 1850, it was "restored without changing the picture," by New York artists, and came to be regarded as one of the principal ornaments of the senate chamber.

Leisler, from whom the Columbian portrait had descended to Maria Farmer, had visited Europe, traveling over all its countries. While abroad, he probably procured this portrait, and that from some one of his kindred,

[1] *Los Restos de Colon*, Madrid, 1879.

if Maria Farmer's statement that it had been in her family as early as 1630, be correct.

The date, 1592, inscribed on the portrait, is interpreted by the author of the *Appendix* as by me, to denote the year in which the picture was made, or copied; and the figures "Æt 23" to signify the age at which Columbus is represented, and that at which he first went to sea. In the background of this work a vessel is painted, just sailing away from a small sea port.

Early Historic Relics of the Northwest

By James Davie Butler, LL. D.

Recent Accessions of Historic Copper

The Chippewa *Herald* of a recent date has a notice of a copper finding just made in that county. The articles discovered were not only hatchets, but several *piercers*—apparently like one in the prehistoric tower of our capitol, which hitherto has been reckoned a specimen almost unique. This treasure was unearthed by Rev. G. W. Smith, and that from a burial mound.

These lone stars, we confidently expect, will seek annexation to our constellation, where they and the sister luminaries already there, will lend and borrow light by mutual reflection. Our expectation seems warranted by the experience of the last year.

Up to the acquisition of the Perkins collection, all the implements of copper which had been accumulated in a quarter of a century by the State Historical Society were a total of *thirteen,* several of them very insignificant. The articles obtained from Mr. Perkins were one hundred and thirty-eight—a larger number of tools than I have been able to hear of in all other cabinets whatever.

Partly in response to a circular issued by me, as chairman of the prehistoric committee, fourteen new coppers—one more than our whole stock a year ago last December, prior to the Perkins accession—have been sent in to enrich the glass cases which the State had prepared to enshrine them in the halls of the Historical Society, where thirty thousand visitors annually resort.

To encourage others, the names of the donors and their gifts are here appended: A copper socket spear from C. W. Smalley, New London, Waupaca County; a copper ax from Mrs. Keyes Darling, Fond du Lac, and a copper spear from G. De Neveu, of the same

city. The ax, weighing 4 lbs. 12¼ oz., is the heaviest article of wrought copper as yet brought to light, and the spear having a unilateral barb, is the only specimen known of its class in copper; spears of bone, however, of the unilateral pattern, are found among California fossils. A copper tomahawk taken from a mound at Chetek, Barron County, in 1875, from Capt. Wm. Wilson, Menomonee. A copper spear with a round tang to thrust into a shaft. It is the largest specimen we have of its class, and the only one known with a hole bored through its blade. It was the gift of Mons Anderson, La Crosse.

A copper socket spear-head, four and one-half inches long, from James Shortall. It was found near Sun Prairie, and is the only copper as yet yielded us by Dane County. One thin copper spear found by J. Turner, in Belmont, Portage County. Two thick arrow-heads of copper, from J. D. Holman, of Dayton, Waupaca County. Two socket copper spears, one punched with a rivet-hole, from D. T. Pilgrim, Granville, Milwaukee County. One copper spear, with a shank, from Col. Charles Shuter, of Sparta. This relic was found at Wausau, Marathon County, 1859, while digging in a garden. One socket copper spear, from J. H. Waggoner, of Richland Center. It was found near the surface of the ground in 1859, by Amasa Grover in Ithaca, while digging a well. One socket copper spear from C. E. W. Struve, found by W. A. Stricker, while plowing in Farmington, Jefferson County, in April, 1876.

These fourteen antiques have been contributed from no less than ten counties, in seven of which it was not previously known that any finds whatever of manufactured copper had ever been discovered.

The collections of Mr. Perkins were almost all the fruit of research, either in the five southern counties of Wisconsin bordering on Lake Michigan, or in the five in the tier next west of these lake counties. But our cabinet already boasts presents from twice the area of those ten counties—or that sixth part of the State to which the Perkins exploration was confined. In view and review of the past, it is reasonable to hope for copper curi-

osities from every one of our sixty counties, and some of them will surely show us new types of copper handiwork.

More than fifty coppers have come to our cabinet from Washington County alone, and some specimen from every one of its townships. Was that county, then, the head center of prehistoric metallurgy? Or has more been found there, simply because there Mr. Perkins sought oftenest and most persistently? The latter view seems to me most credible.

Those readers who think the foregoing lucubrations not worth a copper, will think better of my next paragraph for other reasons than because it is my last. The initials of the Mr. Perkins to whom we owe most of our prehistoric copper, are F. S. Frederick S. Perkins did the work, but *Eli* Perkins has the fame in the *State Journal's* book on *Wisconsin at the Centennial.* Eli Perkins!

"Phoebus, what a name,
To fill the speaking-trump of future fame!"

The name of *Eli* Perkins must have been written by the compiler of that Wisconsin centennial exhibit, through what Richard Grant White calls, heterophemy or heterography. That compiler knew better. He knew Eli to be so brazen-faced, that he could not be fancied to go about gathering up copper, save in the mercenary sense of a mountebank. Eli has too much brass already.

MAY 22, 1877.

Aztalan, the Ancient City

It has often been a matter of shame to me, that while living a quarter of a century in Wisconsin, my feet had never stood within the gates of Aztalan. My having passed it by on the other side was a special mortification to me when questioned about it—as if it were the only object of interest in our State—by savants in France, Germany, and Italy. But, last Saturday, I atoned for my past neglect by dedicating many an hour to the ancient city, and, had not the wind been a blizzard, and the mud worthy of the Potomac, would have been glad of all my friends as fellow pilgrims—throughout the city of the dead.

Aztalan,

As a Modern Township

standing in a more attractive agricultural region than Madison, was settled earlier. One of its surviving citizens reminded me with pride, that it had once lacked only two votes of being made the State capital instead of Madison. In 1848 it had four large hotels, a wagon factory with half a hundred workmen—and its streets were full of freight-wagons, bound either with farm products to Milwaukee, or with merchandise to many an inland point. But railroads one and all, from first to last, have come just near enough to kill it.

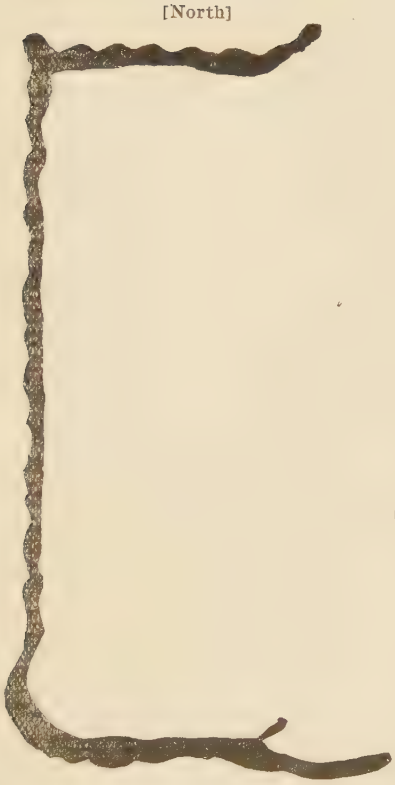
Prehistoric Aztalan

is the largest and most elaborate monument of Wisconsin aborigines. Its ruins were first discovered by Timothy Johnson in the fall of 1836. In January following it was explored and described with a drawing in the Milwaukee *Advertiser* by Nathaniel F. Hyer. Another account of it, with cuts, appeared in 1843 in *Silliman's Journal*, New Haven. This was written by Stephen Taylor, then living at Richland Forest, and afterwards at Stevens Point, and who has recently bequeathed a thousand dollars to the State Historical Society.

But the antique remains, unique in Wisconsin and perhaps outside of it, were first accurately surveyed and plotted by Dr. Lapham in 1850. His description and drawings were published in 1855, in the Smithsonian *Contributions to Knowledge*.

The Strange Monument

styled Aztalan by Mr. Hyer—inasmuch as it seemed to him a structure worthy of the Mexican Aztecs, and possibly erected by some kindred race—is situated on the right bank of the Crawfish, the first western tributary of Rock River above Koshkonong. It may be viewed as an intrenched camp on the west bank of the stream, which here flows south, and is about one hundred feet in width.



The accompanying cut is reduced from the drawing of Dr. Lapham. The towers, it will be seen, number about thirty-three. The northern or upper portion is now much best preserved. It also lies higher, the ground sloping both eastward towards the river bank which forms the fourth side of the parallelogram, and likewise toward the south.

The line of earth-works is about twice as long from north to south as from east to west;—in exact figures, —the north embankment, starting from the river, at a distance of 631 feet, reaches the end of the western embankment, which has a length of 1,419 feet, and which, at its southern extremity, meets another embankment which runs 700 feet to the river. The inclosure had no wall on the water side,—the river being sufficient protection. The bank is steep and rises at once fifteen or twenty feet. At the northeast junction with the river, a flanking

Semi-Circular Tower

projects, from what I may call the curtain of the camp –and similar projections occur throughout its entire circuit, at an average distance of five rods from each other.

The area of this enclosure, namely 17 2-3 acres, is well-nigh one-third larger than the capitol square, in Madison, which within the iron fence measures no more than thirteen acres. The thickness of the wall, according to Lapham, was twenty-two feet, and its

height varying from one to five—though even in his time it had been plowed down in many places. If its original height averaged four feet, its solid contents could not have been less than

A Quarter of a Million

cubic feet. Various outlying mounds or lookouts, and others within the *enceinte,* must have added not a little to the labor of construction.

A work of such dimensions seems to contrast surprisingly with all we know of Indian industry and concentration. The late Lewis H. Morgan would say that the whole erection was thrown up as a foundation for a long series of connected huts, serving as a corral inclosing a central court. Though military terms are at once suggested by apparent walls and towers, it is unlikely that the works here were built for military purposes, inasmuch as the "fort," if it were one, would be commanded on three sides—north, east and west, by higher ground within arrow-shot.

The reasons for such an outlay of energy here as was without a parallel in the Northwest, will perhaps always remain conjectural. Lapham is inclined to think Aztalan may have been a center of pilgrimage like Jerusalem and Mecca. It is delightfully situated—it slopes gently down to the river bank—and its look-out mounds are still high enough to show a wide prospect among oak openings.

"But what of the brick walls?" is the question which has been rising in every reader's mind.

Aztalan Brick

if I can use the term without misleading, are the greatest mystery of the spot. They are shapeless clods of clay—burnt red and pretty hard. I could easily have gathered a bushel of them scattered on the surface of the plowed field which over-runs the ramparts. Every bit shows holes where the sedge from the river bank had been matted and massed in the clay, perhaps to help in burning it to brick.

One fragment, which I brought away, has a stick more than an inch thick burned to charcoal in the middle of it. Remembering that plows have torn this brick-work in pieces for full forty

years—one was thus at work during the hours of my visit—we can scarcely exaggerate the quantity of it in the prime of its perfection. It is quite possible that it veneered the earth-works in every part from top to bottom, on inner and outer faces, as stone walls have scarped and revetted so many a rampart of earth.

Nothing is so lamentable in our archæological neglects as that the work of exploring our unique marvel, so well begun by pioneers, has been given up altogether for a generation, and that no thorough and enlightened excavations have been made at all. Much has hence perished, but Aztalan is still a quarry worth working. A German, who now owns the site, gave me a polished flesher he had just plowed up, and in his tillage had noticed many varieties of prehistoric implements without caring to touch them. A gentleman of the neighborhood, Henry Haskell, who was so kind as to be my guide, while we strolled along one of the parapets, picked up two perfect flint arrow-heads and two specimens of pottery each unlike the other. At his home I also saw more than two thousand articles of prehistoric handiwork,—which have fallen in his way near his home within a little time—not a few of styles unknown in our Capitoline tower of the stone age. Proofs thicken—indeed seem to me already thick enough—that the Wisconsin aborigines, as found by the French two centuries ago, were but a handful to the hive of nations that had here swarmed, and then vanished so long before that all memory of them had perished in the dark backward and abysm of time.

In a letter already published in the *State Journal,* Edward Everett as long ago as 1838 labored to save Aztalan intact, either by getting the President to reserve that site from sale; or, if it were already sold [as it was for $22], then by some other expedient. His failure can never be enough regretted.

May 15, 1882.

"Brick Baked in Situ"

Editor of the London Times—In a letter of Dr. Schliemann, recently published in your paper, one of the chief Trojan discoveries is set down as "brick baked in situ." The crude brick, or the clay moulded into form, was piled up in walls either of tem-

ples or of the city, and then burnt by means of wood piled up on each side of the structures. In the Doctor's opinion, his Roman discovery is the first instance thus far detected of such an *inversion* of modern methods in brick-making.

Accordingly it will be pleasant for him, and perhaps for your readers, to learn of a similar procedure in the manufacture of brick among the prehistoric dwellers west of the Great Lakes of North America.

Aztalan, about fifty miles east of this capital of Wisconsin, and on the way to its principal city, Milwaukee, is the largest aboriginal monument in the northwest, and one of the largest in the United States. At that point, about eighteen acres are inclosed by a breastwork, forming three sides of a parallelogram, the fourth side lying along a stream too deep to ford. There were thirty-three projections, which were probably flanking towers.

The region was first settled by whites in 1836, and the "ancient city," as they called it, was discovered the same year. The rampart was then in some places five feet in height, in other places much broken down, and everywhere appeared a grassy bank. But wherever one dug through the green sward, he found brick, very fairly burnt, but always of irregular forms.

The ruin was described, first in the Milwaukee *Advertiser,* in January, 1837, then in *The American Journal of Science,* New Haven (vol. 44, p. 21), and more fully in the Smithsonian *Contributions to Knowledge* (vol. vii, pp. 41–51). In none of these articles, however, is there any attempt to explain how the Aztalan brick were manufactured.

It was on a visit which I made to this unique work last spring that the process of brick-making there first struck me as in all probability the self-same as that just detected by Schliemann at Troy.

About all the acres at Aztalan have been plowed up for forty years. A vandalism as gross as any which has disgraced any section of the old world has driven the plow-share over and over the breast-work. Yet the soil is still full of brick fragments. I examined many of them, some as large as my fist. In the middle of one, there was a stick an inch thick burned to charcoal. In all

of them were holes where the sedge from the river bank had been mixed with the clay, and the shape of each stalk and blade was plain. It seemed clear that the soil—a sort of loam—had been thrown up into a rampart, that the whole was coated with clay, matted and massed together with bushes and sedge; that over all was heaped abundance of prairie-grass, with perhaps huge trees, and the whole set on fire. Yet it would not have been necessary to burn trees for turning clay to brick. That transformation is still wrought in Nebraska, where wood is scarce, with prairie-grass alone.

For myself, I am already satisfied as to the process by which the terra-cotta[1] ramparts at Aztalan were formed, but in order to accumulate evidence for those who are weaker in faith, I propose to visit that unique work again when winter breaks up. My hope is sanguine that there yet remain various nooks where by scraping off the dust which ages have deposited in thick layers, I shall lay bare broad surfaces or incrustations of prehistoric brick-work, which could only have been baked just where they lie—*in situ ipsissimo.*

In many other aspects Aztalan is of great antiquarian interest, but my aim is merely to show a noteworthy coincidence between constructive methods there and in Asiatic Troy. It is a good illustration that men in similar stages of culture, no matter where they live, will adopt identical means for securing identical ends.

The First Page of Wisconsin History

Reckoned by years in the Union, Wisconsin is younger than twenty-nine of our States, but reckoned from the year it was first traversed by white men, it is older than almost all of them.

[1] Terra cotta—burnt earth. This is all Dr. Butler claims. In his preceding article he said, "they are shapeless clods of clay, burnt red, and pretty hard." The matter of size and shape does not necessarily enter into the general definition of brick. The great English lexicographer, Prof. W. W. Skeat, simply defines brick as "a lump of baked clay." L. C. D.

Most Eastern readers of Bancroft's first edition of his *History of the United States* saw with surprise that Wisconsin was crossed by Jolliet and Marquette on their way to descend the Mississippi as early as 1673—more than two centuries ago. But some years since, in 1853, the Catholic champion, Dr. J. G. Shea, discovered in the *Jesuit Relation* for the year 1640 this passage, written by the Jesuit Father Le Jeune, from Quebec to France: "M. Nicolet, who has penetrated farthest into these most distant regions, has assured me that if he had pushed on three days longer on a great river which issues from the second lake of the Hurons (Lake Michigan) he would have found the sea. Now I strongly suspect this sea is on the north of Mexico, and that thereby we could have an entrance into Japan and China."

On the strength of this testimony, Parkman *(Jesuits in North America,* p. 166), wrote: "As early as 1639, Nicolet ascended the Green Bay of Michigan, and crossed the waters of the Mississippi."

The word Mississippi, meaning *great waters,* was ambiguous—and, though really denoting a river, might well be mistaken for a sea.

Thus thirty-four years—more than a generation—were at once added to the age of Wisconsin. Badgers now boasted that European feet had trod their soil, and floated on their waters, within nine years after the founding of Boston, which claims to be of all other cities most ancient, as well as honorable.

It has just come to light that they had better reason than they knew of for a greater boast than this. In the lowest deep a lower deep still opens. Father Le Jeune, it will be noticed, writing in 1640 regarding the explorations of M. Nicolet, gives no date. That that voyager had then just returned was a natural inference of Shea, Parkman and others, who thought his tidings too good not to be trumpeted through the world as if by telegraph.

But they were all mistaken. Nicolet's expedition to the Wisconsin River is now proved to have been in the year 1634. But how is this new antiquity proved? How are five years added at a stroke to the historic era of Wisconsin?

A record has been detected in the Canadian archives, by Ben-

jamin Sulte, of Ottawa, that Nicolet started from Three Rivers on a Western voyage in July, 1634, and returned the year following. But it is natural to ask, "May not this adventurer have made later voyages, even as he had made others before?"

Sulte's answer is: "By no means. The voyage of 1634–35 was his last. In 1635 Nicolet became interpreter and fur-factor for the French company—called the 'Hundred Associates.' Their accounts and other papers show that he was stationed at their post of Three Rivers, midway between Montreal and Quebec, and that he remained there till 1642, when, while on a business journey to the latter city, he was accidentally drowned." Thus Sulte proves an *alibi* for Nicolet. Until then, some one can show Nicolet to have had divine ubiquity—or as mediævals believed of angels and devils, *du*-biquity, the power of being in two places at once—he must be admitted to have discovered Wisconsin some five years before white men have been supposed to have shown themselves there. Doubtless it will add a cubit to the stature of every Badger to have five years thus added to the annals of his commonwealth.

Possibly it may turn out that they have still more reason to exult. Sulte's researches have made it out that Nicolet was domesticated as one of themselves among the Indians as early as 1618, at first on the Ottawa, half way to Lake Huron, and after two years in tribes bordering on that lake itself.

The Badger State was but one step farther, and was a thoroughfare for a prehistoric commerce in Mexican shells, etc., etc.

Since the impossible always happens, why may it not yet be demonstrated that Nicolet had explored Wisconsin even earlier than the year 1630—that is, before the settlement of Boston itself? Wisconsinians would have these five years added to their annals as gladly as any ancient maiden would have them subtracted from hers.

Sulte describes Nicolet as meeting the Wisconsin tribes in a council of four thousand warriors who feasted on six score of beavers. He appeared before them in a robe of state, adorned with figures of flowers and birds. Approaching with a pistol in each hand, he fired both at once. The astonished natives hence

styled him "Thunder Bearer." This spectacular display was in keeping with the policy which marked the old French regime in two worlds, and which for two centuries proved equally sovereign in both.

Wisconsin antiquity being demonstrated to be so considerable, let no New Englander or old Englander taunt us as the big dunce did the infant phenomenon in a Sabbath school, saying: "No wonder you can tell without book who made you, you have not yet been made more than a fortnight."

Discovery of the Mississippi

Early in August, there is to be a grand celebration at Mackinaw, in honor of Father Marquette and the discovery of his relics. The approach of this festival will quicken the interest of your readers in the following article. A generation ago, Pierre Margry, of Paris, was employed by General Cass to ascertain in the French archives some minutiæ regarding primitive Detroit. Afterward he was engaged in far more extensive researches in that mine, digging up the materials which Francis Parkman has fashioned into half a dozen volumes, all excellent regarding the French in North America. Moreover, for the last half dozen years, he has extended his investigations under the patronage of the United States government. Under its auspices he has already published three octavos of memoirs and original documents, several of which had never before been printed. These productions all relate to the period previous to 1754. The volumes are printed from original manuscripts, and just as they are found. It was my fortune to see M. Margry often, on a recent visit to Paris. The matter he has already accumulated will fill three more octavos. Besides, he will add to them twenty early maps.

The following letter from him to the secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society will interest every dweller in the valley of

the Mississippi—or, as M. Margry puts it—"all States comprised between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains."

In translating, I have added nothing but a few explanatory words in brackets.

JULY 30, 1879.

JULY 4, 1879.

No. 39 Rue de la Chaussee D'Autin.

SIR:—I have received the letter in which you kindly inform me that the State Historical Society of Wisconsin has done me the honor to enroll me among its honorary members. I beg through you to present to that Society my thanks.

In truth, I cannot remain unaffected when I see citizens of your State noticing my labors and appreciating them—for their aim was to secure honor to my own country, and due justice to men whose names have been better known than their deeds. The favor of Americans encourages me to publish, as you wish, three volumes more which are required to complete my work.[1]

Together with your certificate of membership I have received three pamphlets, one of which I find is by my honorable visitor, Prof. James D. Butler. These, with others, you have mailed me, make me understand to how many interesting topics a historian living on American soil, can apply himself, which are necessarily neglected by a foreigner who observes only your general history, and that often merely from the difficulty of procuring books on the history of your individual States.

In 1862, that is to say, seventeen years ago, I published in a French periodical a series of articles from July 30th to the 15th of September, on the discoveries of the Normans in the valley of the Ohio and Mississippi. These articles have come to your knowledge very tardily. From this fact I see that your relation to our labors is the same as ours to yours. You come to know of them slowly. Accordingly I would gladly send you a copy of those articles. But it is impossible. I have in vain sought a dozen times to do so for others. The bookseller Paul Dupont, Rue Grenelle, St. Honore, publisher of the Journal, has told me

[1] *Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francais dans L'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale,* 1614–1754.

many times that he had only complete sets and could not furnish single numbers.

These articles of mine have greatly troubled certain persons, as appears by the meeting at Missilimakinak (Mackinaw) regarding the discovery more or less reliable of the remains of Father Marquette.

What I said concerning the Cavalier de la Salle's priority in discovering the Ohio and Mississippi, has been the occasion of great and even acrimonious controversies. I care nothing for attacks from which search after truth is excluded, and which are little else than passion. It is enough for me to state, that in the American edition of my volumes, which you have, I was not allowed to put any notes of introduction, but that the map inserted in the French edition confirms what I have advanced respecting the discovery of the Ohio, and that I still very firmly believe that La Salle discovered the Mississippi by way of the lakes—by Chicago, and by the Illinois River, as far south as the 36th parallel, and all this before 1673 (the date of Marquette's discovery).

This opinion of mine I base, first on the narrative made by La Salle to the Abbé Renaudot.

This narrative describes an expedition in which La Salle was engaged southwest of Lake Ontario, for a distance of four hundred leagues, and down a river that must have been the Ohio. This was in 1669.

The narrative proceeds: Some time thereafter he made a second expedition on the same river, which he quitted below Lake Erie—made a portage of six or seven leagues to embark on that lake, traversed it towards the north, ascended the river out of which it flows, passed the lake of Dirty Water [St. Clair?], entered the Freshwater Sea [Mer Douce], doubled the point of land that cuts this sea in two [Lakes Huron and Michigan], and descending from north to south, leaving on the west the Bay of the Puans [Green Bay], discovered a bay infinitely larger, at the bottom of which towards the west, he found a very beautiful harbor,[1] and

[1] Chicago. Is there earlier mention or description of that site? J. D. B.

at the bottom of this he found a river, which runs from the east to the west, which he followed, and having arrived at about the 280th (sic)[1] degree of longitude, and the 39th of latitude, he came to another river, which, uniting with the first, flowed from the northwest to the southeast. This he followed as far as the 36th degree of latitude, where he found it advisable to stop, contenting himself with the almost certain hope of some day passing by way of this river even to the Gulf of Mexico. Having but a handful of followers, he dared not risk a farther expedition in the course of which he was likely to meet with obstacles too great for his strength.[2]

I base my opinion, secondly, on a letter of La Salle's niece—the Mississippi and the river Colbert being both one. This letter, dated 1756, says the writer, contained maps, which in 1675, were possessed by La Salle, and which proved that he had already made two voyages of discovery. Among the places set down on these maps, the river Colbert, the place where La Salle had landed near the Mississippi, and the spot where he planted a cross, and took possession of the country in the name of the king, are mentioned.[3]

I base my opinion, thirdly, on a letter of Count Frontenac. In this letter, which was written in 1677 to the French premier, Colbert, Frontenac says that "the Jesuits having learned that M. De La Salle thought of asking (from the French crown) a grant of the Illinois Lake (Lake Michigan), had resolved to seek this grant themselves for Messieurs Jolliet and Lebert, men wholly in their interest, and the first of whom they have so highly extolled beforehand, although he did not voyage until after the Sieur De La Salle, who himself will testify to you that the relation of the Sieur Jolliet is in many things false."[4]

In fine, I found my opinion on the total antagonism between the Jesuits and the merchants, as well as those who represented interest, or only a legitimate ambition. In opposition to the

[1] La Salle's meaning is 280° east of the island of Ferro, which was reckoned 20° west of Paris. Reckoning according to this standard, the mouth of the Ohio would be 100° west of Paris. In fact it is about 92°.
[2] See the work above mentioned, vol. 1, p. 378.
[3] Vol. i, p. 379.
[4] Vol. i, p. 324.

Jesuits, Cavalier De La Salle always associated with the Sulpicians or Récollets whom Colbert had raised up against the Jesuits, in order to lessen the influence of those who would fain undermine him.

If La Salle had wished to practice deception, and to claim a merit that was not his, nothing would have prevented his saying that he had gone farther down the river Mississippi or Colbert than he does say he went, whereas, he left to Jolliet and to Father Marquette the honor of having penetrated to that river by way of the Wisconsin, and of having descended the Mississippi three degrees farther than he, and that, before his enterprise of 1678.

These facts I have considered it my duty to establish in opposition to the allegations of those who affirm that La Salle did not conceive any projects of discovery till after the voyage of Jolliet —which is just the contrary of truth.[1]

All these questions I will treat of again when the Americans shall have discussed my documents. Knowing the topography, they have facilities which I have not. I would be very glad to see them promptly carry out a critical and geographical examination, showing the present names of the regions traversed by our explorers, of the places where they halted, and of those marked by any incident of interest.

To the States included between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains, I make known the facts of their origin. It is for them to interpret those facts.

I beg you in my name to thank Prof. Butler for his souvenir.[2]

Believe me to be personally your very humble servant,

PIERRE MARGRY.

MR. LYMAN C. DRAPER, Corresponding Secretary Wisconsin State Historical Society.

---

[1] See *General Journal of Public Instruction*, 1862. pp. 626, 657, 658.

[2] A photograph of the ostensorium presented to the Green Bay mission in 1686 by Nicolas Perrault—lost for more than a century—discovered deep in the ground, and believed to be the oldest memorial with a date regarding any place west of the Alleghanies. J. D. B.

Jolliet's First Map

Gabriel Gravier, *President de la Societe Normande de Geographie,* has just published an essay on a map hitherto unknown, and which he holds to be the *first* one which shows the Great Lakes and the Great River throughout, and that it is the earliest sketch drawn by Jolliet at Montreal in 1674, directly after his return from his voyage down the Mississippi. Its scroll title is

"NEW DISCOVERY OF SEVERAL NATIONS IN NEW FRANCE."

A *facsimile,* 22x16 inches, two-thirds the size of the original, which is 85x67 centimeters, accompanies the essay. The map is inscribed with the name of Jolliet, and is admitted to be his. Its priority to others is argued: First, because it gives to rivers and regions names complimentary to Canadian authorities—names that in his other maps are changed for those of dignitaries in France. Thus its name for the territory between the Wisconsin and Illinois rivers is *La Frontenacie* (which may be translated Frontenacky), instead of *Colbertie*—in honor of the French premier, which appears on other maps. It sets down the name of the Mississippi as *Buade,* the family name of Frontenac, not Colbert, as in his other maps. Only on this map is the Illinois River, named the

OUTRELAISE,

the name of a female friend of Frontenac's wife.

The priority of the new found map is also argued because it was dedicated, with many additions, to Frontenac, then governor of New France. Other maps by Jolliet are dedicated to Colbert. Moreover, the imperfections of the map show it to be an original draft. It is in a ruder style of art, and more incorrect than others sketched by Jolliet, especially in those portions where he had not himself explored, and his drawings of which he at length improved by studying the maps of others. The names entered and the descriptive notes are fewer than in his other maps, as would be natural in a first sketch. *Baston* (sic) is the only town within the present limits of the United States; some think it is still.

Hudson Bay on the west opens into the *Mer Glaciale;* New Grenada lies almost west of Mexico. On the other hand, Jolliet draws the Mississippi emptying into the Mexican Gulf, while Dablon's map still made its mouth in the South Sea.

For reasons like these, Gravier believes the map of which he treats, now deposited in the *Maison Neuve* bookstore to be the *first* work of Jolliet, and one of the

Most Precious Monuments

of North American history and geography.

The publication of M. Gravier's *facsimile* enables us to compare Jolliet's map with Marquette's—as before no one could compare them without a journey to Paris, and research in Parisian archives. Such a comparison is in many ways suggestive. In all great features the two maps are of course identical. After all, however, the *divergence* between the cartography of Jolliet and that of Marquette is the most interesting point. It affords one of the best illustrations, that the testimony of independent witnesses who are equally competent, and have the same opportunities for observation, will abound in circumstantial differences—perhaps contradictions. According to Marquette, the Mississippi is the river of the *Conception,* in honor of the Blessed Virgin, while Jolliet marks it down as *Buade*—the surname of his political patron. Its waters empty, on Jolliet's map, into the Gulf of Mexico, but on Marquette's, into the basin of Florida. [Florida deriving its name from

A Portuguese Epithet

of the Easter day when it was discovered.] On or near Lake Superior, Marquette inscribes the legends *Mission du Esprit* and *St. Ignace,*—places which Jolliet had visited, but does not mention at all on his map. Names of tribes to be evangelized stud Marquette's map as thickly as the stars in the sky—stars that seemed to him wandering in the blackness of darkness, till he should preach to them. The space filled by Jolliet with a courtly dedication, Marquette heads with the words: *Names of remote Indian Nations.* But the aborigines were surveyed by Jolliet in a commercial or military point of view. Thus, by the name of a

tribe strategically posted near the mouth of the Missouri, he writes: *Three hundred cabins, one hundred and eighty canoes, fifty feet in length.*

While Marquette was full of missionary projects, Jolliet was on the lookout for commercial products and water communications. Marquette leaves the impression that Lake Winnebago had an outlet into the Mississippi, but Jolliet writes the word

Portage

where the Fox and Wisconsin rivers come nearest each other. In the same spirit, he mentions the portages at Niagara and Chicago, with a statement that the former is half a league in length. In the margin he states that his map shows the rivers and lakes on which one can sail through Canada or Septentrionalian America for more than 1,200 leagues. This remark occurs during a dedication of the map to Frontenac in a letter of twenty-eight lines which nearly fill the space between Mexico and the North Sea.

Marquette mentions no *mines* of any kind, while on Jolliet's canvas we read, south of Green Bay and along the shore of Lake Michigan [a name first appearing on this map, and spelled Missihigann, and called by Marquette only *Illinois*], the legends, *salt-peter, slate, copper;* and just north of the Illinois River, *fossil coal,* as well as *iron mines,* are also inscribed on Jolliet's map just below the mouth of the Ohio. *Blood stones* is a Jolliet legend north of the mouth of the Illinois River, and south of its source. These are declared in his margin a sure sign of red copper.

In reference to the

Territory of Wisconsin

Jolliet's map is better than Marquette's, on which the only entries are the names of three Indian tribes, namely: the Pottawattamies, east of Green Bay, the Outagamies, west of it, and the Maskoutens, half way up the Fox River. Jolliet sets down the last two. He gives the name *Puans* instead of the first. Only on his map do we find Green Bay and Wisconsin River named at all; the first *Puans,* and the second *Misconsing.*

Dr. Shea in 1852 published Marquette's map, with a table showing the names on that map. Among them is Misconsing

[Wisconsin]. But on the map itself, as furnished us by Shea, there is no such name, nor any other, attached to the Wisconsin river or region. Which shall we believe—the map or the map maker?

"'Twixt two doctrines perplexed,
Oh! help us determine.
'Watch and pray,' says the text;
'Go to sleep,' says the sermon."

Again, while Marquette has no name for the region he traversed from the Great Lake to the Great River, Jolliet writes it *Frontenacie* (or Frontenacky), which is thus *our earliest European name.*

A reviewer of Jolliet's map in *The Nation* (No. 780, page 438), wrote about this notable finding after giving it too hasty and careless a glance. He asserts that Jolliet calls "the valley of the Mississippi Frontenacie." A second glance would have satisfied the reviewer, however cross-eyed he may have been, that Jolliet could not have included in that term any more than a small fraction of the Mississippi valley; nothing west of that river, nothing south of the Illinois, nothing north of the Wisconsin—yes, no more of the Mississippi than of Lake Michigan.

Jolliet again shows the Fox River rising in three lakes, as is the fact. Neither of these cartographers mentions the name Chicago, though Marquette spent the winter, after tracing his map, very near it. But Jolliet, as if with prophetic foresight of great developments about to be revealed in that region, wrote "Mont Jolliet" as the name of the first height south of our metropolis. What a shame that his name lingers there only as a synonym of a State's prison! He deserves a better monument.

Parkman says a certain Jesuit map "is remarkable as including the earliest representations of the Upper Mississippi." But the word *Colbert* inserted in that map, according to Harrisse and Gravier, proves that it originated after 1674. The map I have been describing would have seemed to Parkman still more remarkable, for it antedates the Jesuit map, and it presents a still earlier representation of the Upper Mississippi, and that heading in three lakes.

Whoever will study Jolliet's map will count it not least among

the treasures in our Historical Society. Thanks to his pioneering and his pencil, we first pass from conjectural cartography regarding Wisconsin, Illinois, and the Mississippi to a positive style of the art as being founded on actual observation.

JANUARY 8, 1881.

French Foot-Prints in Northwestern Wisconsin

It is well known that the French early penetrated into the territory which is now Wisconsin. From that quarter came the best beaver brought down by Indians to Canadian trading-posts, and it was natural for traders to fix themselves as near as possible to the sources of that fur which they coveted most. With this view some of them, as Des Groselliers, appear to have traversed the region between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi before the year 1660. The same district was almost as long ago the scene of *missionary* labor. Missions were tried around Quebec, but soon given up in despair, owing to the nomadic habits of the aborigines there. They were at once transferred to Lake Simcoe, a little east of Lake Huron, when it was discovered that the tribes there were, during much of the year, sedentary in permanent dwellings. One Father was saying mass in that distant recess of the West in 1615, five years before the Plymouth Pilgrims landed; and the mission grew and throve till 1649, when it was broken up by the New York Iroquois, who burned all its buildings, slaying or scattering priests and converts.

The fugitives in great part fled to Mackinaw, and some of them into Lake Superior, and towards its western extremity, settling at La Pointe, and the Apostles' Islands. But shepherds follow their sheep, and so the Jesuits did not forget their converts. They were soon upon their track, and thus entered Wisconsin from the north. The first of them was Réné Ménard, in 1660.

There is reason to think that French *fun lovers* were on Wisconsin soil as soon as any fur-traders, or ghostly Fathers. Even in the second year after Champlain had founded Quebec, one of this class, actuated by pure love of frolic and adventure—went

home with Indians from the heart of the continent, near Lake Huron, and wandered with them a year where no white man's foot had ever trod.

I am now reminded of the first French pioneers in Wisconsin by just having visited an *earth-work*, which may by possibility have been one of their foot-prints. The remains to which I refer are in Barron County, about one mile southeast of the village of Rice Lake—in township 35, range 11 west, and section 27. They were visited by me on the seventh of October, 1880.

I found a ditch about a foot wide and a little less in depth, inclosing a square plat of ground fifty feet square. At two diagonal corners—namely southwest and northeast—there are projections, indicating the sites of two flanking turrets. Near two sides of the inclosure are small heaps of flat stones, which may mark the spots where fires were made. Digging in the ground at various points, we discovered that it was underlaid everywhere with charcoal dust, at a depth of about three inches. Near the fireplaces we turned up a great quantity of bones. It seemed clear that a palisade had stood in the ditch. A resident in the neighborhood, Mr. James Bracklin, told me that he once dug up a stump of one of the poles or stakes, which was sharpened at the lower end, and that plainly with a white man's ax.

This stockade stands on an eminence, with an outlook on Rice Lake and a lakelet. The locality is called Pocagamah, a Chippewa word said to signify *Confluence*. There is some underbrush on the site, but no tall trees are near.

On the saddle or isthmus between the lake and lakelet, there is a grading or road-way, which was, as it now is, when the oldest inhabitant came into the region. The embankment is about six hundred feet in length, its width thirty feet at the base, and fifteen at the summit, its height from six to seven feet. Regarding the causeway, I have no opinion, but think the fortification to be of French origin.

Indian works were irregular—this is an exact square. They had no flankers, as may be seen in pictures of them drawn by Champlain. Aztalan I consider a pre-Indian work. But here nothing is plainer than the provision for a flanking fire. Indian defenses were always larger than this is, being intended to protect

whole tribes. This, like many Hudson Bay posts to-day, is so small that it could shelter only one or two dwellings. My hope is to procure another stump from the palisade with ax-marks—still bearing witness of French pioneers. At the time of my visit, the digging was all done with a broken ax-helve. The antique remains I have described stand in a section where beaver dams are still common, and beavers themselves are trapped every year. They would form a convenient mid-way station for voyageurs who, like Nicolas Perrot, more than two centuries ago, were often passing from the Great Lake to the Great River, and back from the Great River to the Great Lake.

Early settlers in Barron County—where the first white child was born twenty-five years ago—heard from the oldest Indians that the post of which I have given some account, was long occupied by a fur-trader named Auguste Corot, who was killed there by the Sioux well nigh a century ago. So much credit was given to these stories by many Barron County whites, that they have digged into the earth in several neighboring places as sanguine of unhoarding the buried cash of the murdered Frenchman, as any Yankee has been of excavating the strong box in which Captain Kidd buried his treasure along Long Island Sound. On Jeffreys' map of 1763, a fort is set down far up the St. Croix and south of it, not far from the Rice Lake post.

In 1831, Schoolcraft, then Indian agent at Mackinaw, was ordered with Lieut. Clary, and some forty men, to explore the region south of the river St. Croix. On the 6th of August, they found the trading-house (no doubt a stockade) at Lake Shetek burned. Now Shetek is only about a dozen miles from the ruin which I explored, and have been speaking of.

Some three years ago I visited La Salle's castle—Starved Rock, or the Rock of St. Louis—on the Illinois River. My passage thither from Ottawa, like La Salle's, was in a row-boat. After climbing the cliff, we discovered on the plateau to the rear of it, clear signs of a stockade, similar to that of which I have spoken in Northern Wisconsin. Here the French, under La Salle and his lieutenant, the Italian Tonty, were established for more than thirty years onward from 1682.

November 16, 1880.

Roma Rediviva in Rock County

A little boy in the village of Milton, Wis., espied something glittering in his path. Picking it up, he discovered it to be a much tarnished copper coin—about half an inch in diameter, but thicker than our coins of that size. On one side was a marginal wreath—having its hollow filled with a head in high relief. On the other side was an inscription which was Greek or Hebrew to the finder, who was glad to barter away his find for a stick or two of candy.

This tiny treasure, being as great a puzzle to the buyer as to the seller, was put into my hands, and proved a riddle hard for me to guess. The legend, though somewhat defaced, I soon ascertained to be:

Vot
XX
mult
XXX

The syllable *Vot,* I was also satisfied signified *vows;* but regarding the meaning of the entire inscription, I gained very little information from Humphreys' *Coin Collector's Manual,* and the whole shelf-full of numismatic works that has been garnered up in the library of the Historical Society. Dictionaries, biblical, classical and antiquarian, encyclopædias and histories, all were tried, and all found wanting. At last, in Du Cange's *Glossary of Low and Medieval Latin,* I discovered what I desired. When Augustus had held imperial authority in Rome for five years, he professed a wish to resign. He was, however, like some modern statesmen, persuaded to serve a second term, and then a third and fourth. At the end of *twenty* years' authority, his flatterers carried a bill through the senate conferring imperial power on him at once for a double term, that is, for ten years longer, and medals were stamped with *vows* to this effect.

Examples from the Augustan age were reverently copied for many generations in the Roman world, and among other things the formulas on Augustinian medals were imitated. The medallic inscription, then, according to Du Cange, was: *votis vicennalibus, multis* [*votis*] *tricennalibus*—that is, vows for a twenty years' reign having been fulfilled—there are many vows for a thirty years'

reign—or ten years more, that is, as many years as were wished for Augustus. The Milton coin, then, was minted either under Augustus or some one of his successors who reigned over twenty years, and that before A. D. 400. Before the close of the fourth century, *vows* ceased to appear on the coinage of Christian emperors, being viewed as dregs of paganism.

As the reigns of only six successors of Augustus exceeded twenty years each, the Milton copper bears the head of either Tiberius, Hadrian, Antonius Pius, Diocletian, Constantine, or Constantius II—if not that of Augustus himself. You could determine which particular monarch of the seven is thus represented if you were in the British Museum—for the image on the Milton piece is well preserved, and in that Museum you could compare it with contemporary portraits of all those seven emperors. Those portraits consist in photographs of well-preserved medals of those sovereigns enlarged to life-size.

How a Roman coin should have found its way across oceans, continents and ages, in order to be lost in Milton, is a mystery which defies conjecture. But I expect to learn that some foreign missionary who has been sent to the old world from Milton College, brought it home with him to his alma mater; but, after carrying his gift safely a long way, stumbled on her threshold, and so failed to enrich her cabinet with a curio, small to the eye, but great to the mind.

Mr. W. P. Clark, the owner of this antique, believing that "he who hath to him shall be given," has presented it to our Historical Society. Relic finder, go thou and do likewise!

Spanish Silver in Early Wisconsin

Some twenty years ago, Austin Birge, while digging in a mound at lower Prairie du Chien, came across some bits of bones and primitive pottery, and among them espied a larger silver coin than he had ever seen. Removing to Canyon City, Grant County, Oregon, he carried his find with him, but lately sent it back again, so that it has fallen into my hands, by favor of the

owner, Hon. Horace Beach, who has generously presented it to our Wisconsin Historical Society. Its diameter is two and one-eighth inches—that of a dollar is one and one-half inches. It weighs 776 grains, or nearly twice the weight of a dollar, which is 412½ grains. Its material is chiefly silver, though it possibly contains more alloy than the coins issued from the mints of the United States. Its obverse bears a bust, one and one-half inches high, stamped in very bold relief. It was originally encircled by an inscription now almost illegible. Upon the reverse is the word *merito,* in letters so large that six of them fill more than an inch. This legend is in the midst of a wreath tied with ribbons. The leaves of the wreath are those of the cactus or prickly pear. This relic has a hole bored through it in the margin, so that it could be hung round one's neck. It was clearly minted not for a coin, but for a medal. No silver coin so heavy is noted in the currencies of the world. The cactus leaves are a feature which points to Mexican origin. The word *merito* also is Spanish, meaning merit, or reward of merit. It seems to have been originally *por merito.*

It is noteworthy, that while *merito* is well preserved on one side of the medal, all the words on the other are well nigh obliterated. Perhaps the silver fell into the hands of an Indian, who thought much of the bust, but rubbed off the meaningless words that ran around it, considering them a deformity, in order to leave the king's image alone in its glory.

In the inscription which encircles the bust, the words *Carlos, Espana* and *Indias* are easily decipherable, and, placing the medal upon a hot iron, about all the legend may be made out as follows:

that is, in English, "Charles III, King of Spain and the Indies." This monarch reigned from 1758 to 1788.

We ask at once, "How came this medal where it was discovered? or into the hands of the Indian with whom it was buried?" Conjectures are free for every one, and so I will state mine—which seems to me the more plausible the more I consider it.

The Spanish medal, as I think, was presented to Huisconsin, or Mitasse, chiefs of the Sauks and Foxes, on the 20th of November, 1781, and in St. Louis, by the Spanish governor, Don Francisco Cruzat. If this opinion is correct, its subsequent history is plain enough, as the Sauks then lived on the Lower Wisconsin, in the very region where the puzzling find was made.

What ground is there for this opinion?

The Wisconsin chiefs were visiting the Spanish dignitary, as stated above, were treated by him with marked attention, and they carried home to their tribes a letter from him, claiming authority over them, and giving them orders. This letter is still extant and treasured in the MS. archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society. It was printed in their *Collections,* vol. iii, p. 504. Now, it was the habit of colonial governors to give a medal to every chief with whom they formed an alliance. Whoever accepted a medal, acknowledged the giver as his liege lord. The whole tenor of Cruzat's letter shows, that it was natural for him to hang medals around the necks of the representatives of those to whom he wrote.

A few more words regarding the custom of giving medals and its significance may serve to thicken other proofs that rather thinly demonstrate the reasonableness of my faith concerning the Spanish medal. As soon as the United States had purchased the Northwest from Napoleon, Lieut. Pike was despatched up the Great River to assert American authority, and that in part by demanding the surrender of foreign medals. He secured quite a number, some of them lately presented to Indians by British agents. He exacted promises from such agents that they would on no other occasion make such presentations. See Pike's *Travels,* p. 82, and appendix, pp. 4, 8, 11, 15, 21–29, etc.

But long afterwards British medals were bestowed in the North-

west and regarded by the receivers as binding them to fight for King George, as they were bound by their Catholic medals to pray to their tutelar saints. Tecumseh wore one round his neck when killed in 1813 at the Thames. It was several years ago in the mint at Philadelphia. It was No. 14 in the case of miscellaneous medals, its material silver, and three inches in diameter.

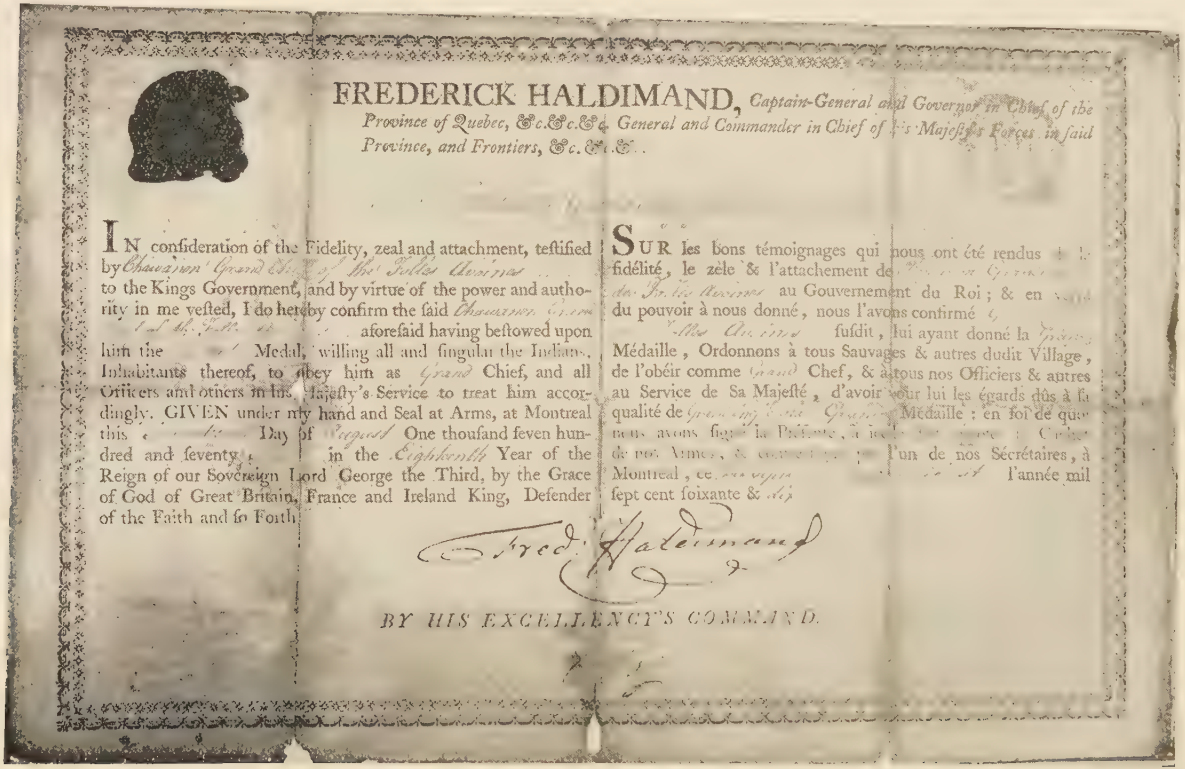
During our Civil War, when it was thought England might side with the South, our Indian agents were ordered to search for foreign medals among the tribes, demand the surrender of them, and give American medals in their stead. There now lies before me a medal, one of the several thus obtained in pursuance of orders from Washington, from Menomonee chiefs, by Indian agent, Hon. M. M. Davis. Those aboriginal leaders, in their own view, did not exchange allegiance till they exchanged the tokens of it. It is an odd coincidence, that the silver disk before me is identical in all points with that worn by Tecumseh at his death, and described in Snowden's work on *American Coins and Medals*. Our State Historical Society already has a nucleus of such numismatic memorials, and if those who ignorantly hoard them here and there, will send them in, at least for inspection in the center of historic studies, we need not despair of seeing an outline history of Wisconsin written in medallic memorials.

In view of the considerations now presented, there seems to be verity, or at least veri-similitude, in my opinion that the Spanish medal came from the Spanish governor to the aboriginal chieftain who visited him, and that it lay in his mound-marked grave, or that of his next friend, till in our days it re-appeared for giving us light and delight as well. Yet I am ready to surrender this theory for one better, as the Menomonee exchanged the likeness of King George for that of Abraham Lincoln.

March 3, 1882.

The Hispano-Wisconsin Medal

Regarding this disk of silver, dug out of an Indian mound at Prairie du Chien, and bearing a legend of Charles III, king of Spain and the Indies (1758–88), I held in my paper of March 3d,



FREDERICK HALDIMAND, *Captain-General and Governor in Chief of the Province of Quebec, &c.&c.&c. General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in said Province, and Frontiers, &c.&c.&c.*

IN consideration of the Fidelity, zeal and attachment, teſtified by *Chawanon Grand Chief of the Folles Avoines* to the Kings Government, and by virtue of the power and authority in me veſted, I do hereby confirm the ſaid *Chawanon Grand Chief of the Folles Avoines* aforeſaid having beſtowed upon him the Medal, willing all and ſingular the Indians, Inhabitants thereof, to obey him as *Grand* Chief, and all Officers and others in his Majeſty's Service to treat him accordingly. GIVEN under my hand and Seal at Arms, at Montreal this Day of *August* One thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy in the *Eighteenth* Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith and ſo Forth.

SUR les bons témoignages qui nous ont été rendus de la fidélité, le zèle & l'attachement de *Chawanon Grand Chef des Folles Avoines* au Gouvernement du Roi ; & en vertu du pouvoir à nous donné, nous l'avons confirmé *Chef des Folles Avoines* ſuſdit, lui ayant donné la *Grande* Médaille, Ordonnons à tous Sauvages & autres dudit Village, de l'obéir comme *Grand* Chef, & à tous nos Officiers & autres au Service de Sa Majeſté, d'avoir pour lui les égards dûs à ſa qualité de *Grand Chef Grand* Médaille : en foi de quoi nous avons ſigné la Préſente, à icelle fait mettre le Cachet de nos Armes, & contreſigné par l'un de nos Sécrétaires, à Montreal, ce vingt-neuvième jour d'*Août* l'année mil ſept cent ſoixante & dix

Fred. Haldimand

BY HIS EXCELLENCY'S COMMAND.

Haldimand's certificate to Chawanon.

that it was probably given to a Wisconsin chief at St. Louis in 1781. In support of this view, mention was made of a letter dated there and then, from Don Francisco Cruzat, the Spanish governor of Upper Louisiana, stating that two chiefs of the Sauks and Foxes were visiting him in his house at St. Louis. In this letter to those tribes, he claims authority over them as their Great Father, and promises them protection.

It seemed to me natural that he should hang medals round the necks of his visitors as badges at once of their fealty to him as their liege lord, and of their authority over the Indians to whom he wrote by their hands. That he did so in reality, several facts which I have just learned render more probable.

Such a presentation had long been common among colonial governors, whether English, French, or Spanish. The original record of one such gift has just been presented through me to the Historical Society. It runs as follows, in two languages:

FREDERICK HALDIMAND, Captain General and Governor-in-Chief of the Province of Quebec, &c., &c., &c.; General and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in said Province and frontier's, &c., &c., &c.

To Chawanon, Grand Chief of the Folles Avoines [Menomonees]:

[RED SEAL.]

In consideration of the fidelity, zeal and attachment testified by *Chawanon, Grand Chief of the Folles Avoines*, to the King's government, and by virtue of the power and authority in me vested, I do hereby confirm the said *Chawanon, Grand Chief of the Folles Avoines*, aforesaid, having bestowed upon him the *great* medal willing, all and singular, the Indians, inhabitants thereof, to obey him as *Grand* Chief, and all officers and others in His Majesty's service to treat him accordingly. Given under my hand and seal-at-arms at Montreal this *seventeenth* day of *August*, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-*eight*, in the *eighteenth* year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, George the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith and so forth.

By His Excellency's Command:

FOY.

Sur les bons temoinages qui nous ont ete rendus de la fidelite le zele et l'attachment de *Chawanon, Grand Chef des Folles Avoines*, au gouvernment du Roi, et en virtu du pouvoir a nous donne, nous l'avons confirme *Grand Chef des Folles Avoines* susdit, lue avant donne la *grande* medaille, ordonnons a tous sauvages et autres du dit Village, de l'obeir comme *Grand* Chef et a tous nos officers et autres au service de sa Majeste [d'avoir pour lui les egards dus a sa qualite de *Grand Chef et a la Grande* medaille]; en foi de quoi nous avons signe la Preseute, a icelle fait apposer le Cachet de nos armes, et contre-signe par l'un de nos Secretaires, a Montreal, ce *dix septieme* jour *Aoust* l'annee mil sept cent et *dix huit*.

FREDERICK HALDIMAND.

In this commission, the signatures of the governor and secretary are in black ink; all words printed in *italics* are written in

red ink; all other words are printed on a blank form of 8x12 inches, with a red seal. The medal and paper both came to me together.

This unique bilingual document proves that it was customary for the English to bestow medals as insignia of command, otherwise the word medal would not have been printed. It indicates that the French had attached even more importance to medals than the English did, for where the English is "treat him accordingly," the French is "show him the respect due to his quality of grand chief and to the grand medal."

Nor is this all. I find further evidence that the Spaniards at St. Louis, were wont to give medals in like manner. In my common-place book it is recorded, that in 1804 Captains Lewis and Clark, above Yankton, on the Missouri, having presented Weucha, the principal chief of the Sioux, among other things, a medal and a military uniform, that dignitary, meeting them in council said: "I went formerly to the English and they gave me a medal. When I went to the Spaniards, they gave me a medal, but nothing to keep it from my skin; but now you give me a medal and clothes." See Lewis and Clark's *Travels,* vol. i, p. 72.

All indications that thus far come to the surface point one way. Proofs of Spanish influence in the far Northwest, formerly wanting, are now coming to light. A letter, half burned in our recent post office accident, informs me that the MS. journal of Major Taliaferro states that, in 1821, a Sioux chief from the Upper Minnesota produced, at Fort Snelling, a commission by Francisco Cruzat and dated 1781.

March 20, 1882.

A Holograph Deed of 1662

Let me be a bell-ringer, said Lord Bacon, to rouse up others, and call them together for some good purpose. In something of the same spirit, as I hope, while chronicling the collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society, the Westphalian medal of 1648 plowed up in Buffalo County in 1861, and the ostensorium pre-

sented to the Green Bay mission in 1686, and, after being lost more than a century, found again in 1802, I begged individuals possessing other historical relics, or cognizant of them, to make them known to me, or to some one who would appreciate them more highly than I. It was also my endeavor to convince such holders of time-honored memorials in Wisconsin, that they could put them where they would do the most good, if they would deposit them in the State capitol, where they would be preserved, classified, and studied by the Historical Society students—as well as where they must lend and borrow light by mutual reflection—and would be suggestive to the greatest number, and for the longest time.

Nor have my appeals been ineffectual. The responses they awakened are beyond my counting, and I know they have not all yet greeted and gladdened me. One of the latest benefactions that has been made through me to the Historical Society, is a manuscript of 1662—older by twenty-four years than Perrot's gift of the ostensorium, which I boast of as the oldest extant relic of white men west of the Alleghanies.

This document, which the Society owes to Mr. B. B. Murch, of Appleton, is a deed of land in Medfield, Massachusetts, in the year 1662, from Daniel Morse to Thomas Thurston. The instrument is wholly in writing; printed forms, with blanks to be filled, had not then come into use. The conveyance was of only a twelve-acre lot, with an addition of forty rods, and two acres in Nantasket; the consideration was £100. The purchase money would seem surprisingly large, were not a dwelling house and barn lean-tos mentioned as standing on the lot.

In the great *Genealogical Dictionary* of early New Englanders, by James Savage, there is notice of another deed of land by the self-same Daniel Morse mentioned above. The coincidence is striking, and the notice shows that, in the opinion of Mr. Savage, such an heir-loom was both rare and valuable. It is in these words: *Daniel Morse's original parchment deed conveying part of his estate to John Hull, June 7, 1666, was in my possession, and was given by me to my friend Nathaniel I. Bowditch.*

But the Morse deed just presented to the Wisconsin Historical

Society, dating from July 2d, 1662, is four years more ancient than that parchment which is so highly prized in Massachusetts. Its being written on paper is an illustration of primitive simplicity, when parchment, though used four years later, was not yet to be had.

Aside from associations, the ancient manuscript, picked from the worm holes of long vanished days—has intrinsic attractions. It is addressed "To all Christian People." Its dimensions are 23x17 inches.

The boundaries of the land in question are described in a way to astonish those familiar only with western rectangular surveys—ranges, sections and sectional sub-divisions. The land conveyed is said to be "bounded on the one side, that is the southeast, with the land of Samuel Bulling, on the other side with the land of Joseph Morse, that is northwest, and both ends butt upon the waste lands belonging to the town." The Nantasket parcel was bounded "north by the highway leading to Dedham, southeast by a swamp, and by waste lands on all other quarters."

Again, it is noticeable that while Daniel Morse, the husband, writes his name, his wife, Lydia, makes her mark. Female education was still neglected in a commonwealth where free schools had been already established, which were destined to become world-famous. The maiden name of Mrs. Morse was Fisher—and at this making of her mark she was forty-one years of age. She was already mother of nine children, the youngest but one year old. Her father had been admitted a freeman in Dedham seventeen years before, in 1645.

One of the witnesses to the deed, Ralph Wheelock, no doubt wrote it throughout, and that in a hand where every word is plain except his own signature. He was graduated at the University of Cambridge, in England, in 1626, and represented Medfield in the general court of Massachusetts for four years. He was possibly an ancestor of the founder of Dartmouth College.

The legal instrument of which I have been speaking, relates to a plot of ground no more than eighteen miles from Boston—in a town which only eleven years before had been set off from one still nearer that city; yet it was a frontier settlement, at which

fourteen years afterward, in 1676, half the houses, that is thirty, were burned by Indians, under King Philip, and many of its people massacred. At that time also Mary Thurston, then nineteen years old, and a sister of Thomas, who bought the land of Daniel Morse, was wounded.

Morse, whose deed we have been examining, writes himself "husbandman." Thurston, to whom he sold out, was set down in the deed as a carpenter, and the husbandman pushed on farther west, settling in Sherburne, where he survived twenty-six years longer, till 1688.

The descent of the Morse deed during two hundred and sixteen years, was probably as follows: From Thomas Thurston, the original grantee, in 1662, first to his son John, born in 1656; secondly, from John to his son David, married in 1712; from David to his son James, born 1718; from James to his son, David, born 1762; and who removed to Vermont; from David to his daughter Alice, who married E. Boynton, Essex Co., N. Y.; from Alice to her daughter Sarah, who married B. B. Murch, and who in June, 1846, settled in Wisconsin, in Brown County, now Outagamie.

Among the records in the Historical Society there is one deed, on a small sheet 17x7 inches, which was drawn in 1660, two years earlier than the legal instrument which is the subject of this paper. In conveys land in East Haven, Connecticut, which had been owned by Governor Eaton, who had died three years before. It was given by Valentine Hill, of Dover, N. H., who had married the governor's daughter, Mary.

But this manuscript is endorsed "copy" and is also stated on its face to be a copy of the original. It is also unknown at what time the copy was taken. It cannot, then, clash with my claim that the Morse deed just presented by Mr. Murch is our oldest original manuscript.

June 2, 1880.

Identity of "Lake Sakaegan"

MERTON, November 30, 1880.

Editor Free Press:—The Smithsonian Institution is about to publish an *Historical Atlas of Indian Affairs.* In doing so, it becomes necessary to ascertain the exact location of a little lake formerly known as "Sakaegan."

The lake in question is mentioned in the treaty of St. Louis, November 3, 1804 (by which the Sac and Fox Indians ceded a large portion of their territory to the United States), in the following words: "Passing up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Wisconsin River, and up that river to a point which shall be thirty-six miles in a direct line from the mouth of the said river, thence by a direct line to the point where the Fox River, a branch of the Illinois, leaves the small lake called the 'Sakaegan,' thence down the Fox River to the Illinois River, etc."

Now, I suppose, the lake in question must be the one now known as Pewaukee Lake, as one branch of the Fox River leaves this lake; but there is nowhere any record that this lake was ever known by such name. When the first settlers came to this county in 1834, this region was in possession of the Pottawatomies, a large village being on the banks of this lake. According to the late history of this county, it was then known by the name of "Pewaukeewenink." According to Mr. J. Witherell, in a communication published in vol. iii, of the *Wis. Historical Collections,* 1856, it should be spelled "Peewaunawkee" (the flinty place), this was no doubt the Pottawatomie name. How long this tribe had been located here is not known; but it is certain that in 1804, the Sacs and Foxes claimed all this region, and a great part of Illinois, Iowa and Missouri, and it was the treaty of that year, in which this lake was mentioned, which led to the famous Black Hawk War, Black Hawk, a Sac chief, never assenting to it. Sakae-

gan was the Sac or Fox name of the lake in question, and there being no Sacs or Foxes in this region when the whites came, the Pottawatomie name obtained of course. However, should this meet the eye of some old settler, who ever heard this name applied to this or any other lake in this region, he will oblige by giving such information to this office, or to the undersigned.

JOHN A. RICE.

MILWAUKEE, Wis., Dec. 13, 1880.

Editor of Chicago Tribune:—I notice in today's *Tribune* an article from your Oconomowoc correspondent headed "Lake Sakaegan," and stating that the Smithsonian Institution is desirous of ascertaining the location of a lake formerly known by that name. The article also states that Dr. John A. Rice believes Pewaukee Lake to be the one in question. I came to Wisconsin over thirty-six years ago, and settled on Fox River. I am well acquainted with the river for a great part of its length. There is in the western part of Racine County, about three miles above the village of Waterford, a small lake called Tishegan, with its outlet in Fox River, and which I think fully answers the description given by your correspondent, and which it seems to me is much more likely to be the former "Sakaegan" than Pewaukee Lake.

H. M. ROBINSON.

MINERAL POINT, Wis., Dec. 14, 1880.

Editor of Chicago Tribune:—In the *Tribune* of the 13th inst. is a communication signed "P.," in which it is stated, that Dr. John A. Rice believes the lake now known as the Pewaukee Lake is the lake called "Sakaegan" in the treaty with some of the Sac and Fox Indians made by Gen. W. H. Harrison, at St. Louis, Nov. 3, 1804; and your correspondent asks for information on the subject, to aid in the correct publication of an *Historical Atlas of Indian Affairs* by the Smithsonian Institution.

The northern boundary-line of the cession runs from the Wisconsin River "by a direct line to a point where Fox River—a branch of the Illinois—*leaves* the small lake called 'Sakaegan.'"

The only lake that complies with this description is the Mukwanago. Fox River enters into and runs out of—"leaves"—Mukwanago Lake. No river or stream enters the Pewaukee Lake, but a small one is discharged from it, which after running about four miles empties into the Fox River, which has its true source about twelve miles north of these in the northwest corner of the town of Menomonee, and in its course to join the Illinois, after passing through the village of Waukesha, and receiving numerous tributaries, becomes a comparatively large river, and enters Mukwanago Lake, which it again "leaves."

I make the following extract from the manuscript sheets of a history of Wisconsin, in the preparation of which I am now engaged: "The small lake called Sakaegan is supposed to be Mukwanago Lake, a little northeast of the village of Mukwanago of which the Hon. Andrew E. Elmore was one of the founders, and which gave him the title of 'Sage of Mukwanago.' The direct line from the Wisconsin River to the Fox River, forming the northern boundary of this cession, passes about three miles south of Madison, through the Second Lake (Waubesa), and crosses Rock River about two miles above Fort Atkinson.

Moses M. Strong.

Editors of Sunday Telegraph:—I notice an article in your last issue, entitled, "Where is Lake Sakaegan?" My father, B. F. Wheelock, now living at this place, came to Milwaukee in 1835. Shortly after his arrival, in a conversation with Solomon Juneau, Mr. Juneau spoke of Pewaukee Lake, calling it Lake Sakaegan, meaning "Snail Lake," the shape of the lake giving it this name, and as such it was known to the early Indians. During the same year, my father was out to this lake, and went around it. There was no Indian village on its bank, the nearest one being one mile east of Waukesha, on what is now the Milwaukee road, which he visited.

Very truly yours,

J. H. Wheelock.

Medford, Wis., December 14, 1880.

[From the Oconomowoc *Free Press.*]

I notice my communication to your paper in reference to Lake Sakaegan has been copied into other papers, and has brought out several replies, among others one from Mr. J. H. Wheelock, of Medford, this State, in the last issue of *The Sunday Telegraph,* in which he says: "My father, B. F. Wheelock, now living at this place, came to Milwaukee in 1835. Shortly after his arrival, in a conversation with Solomon Juneau, Mr. Juneau spoke of Pewaukee Lake, calling it Lake Sakaegan, meaning 'Snail Lake,' the shape of the lake giving it this name, and, as such, it was known to the early Indians."

I was quite certain this must be the lake referred to in the treaty of 1804, as being the only one which answered all the conditions, but the positive testimony of Mr. Wheelock, resting upon the statement of Solomon Juneau, a man well and perfectly versed in the Indian names of this region, must be conclusive, and if so, then this little lake has a greater historic interest than any other lake in Waukesha County, as being one of the prominent points mentioned in a treaty, which will be referred to as long as Wisconsin has a history. Now we all have a great interest in preserving everything of an historic or romantic interest regarding our lakes, especially as our County is fast becoming a famous place of resort for those seeking health or pleasure, these beautiful sheets of water being one of the chief attractions.

Therefore, I hope the good people of the town and village of Pewaukee, and also those of Lakeside, will pardon me for suggesting to them, that it might be in accordance with the eternal fitness of things, to restore to this lake its ancient, historic and rightful name. Let us hope they will investigate this matter, and act upon it. Many reasons may be brought forward in favor of such change of name, which cannot be given in a short article. Those who happen to have a copy of the late *History of Waukesha County,* will find the treaty and lake mentioned on page 38 of that work.

J. A. Rice.

[As Dr. Rice has succeeded in establishing "Sakaegan" as the rightful name of Lake Pewaukee, it is now incumbent on him to furnish a pronunciation, if that is possible. Of course, in accord-

ance with Indian usage, the last syllable has an emphasis, as in the aboriginal pronunciation of Michigan, but how about the previous aspirate and diphthong?—*Eds. Sunday Telegraph.*]

January 9, 1881.

It would seem that the weight of evidence points out the present Pewaukee Lake as the ancient Lake Sakaegan. Baraga's *Chippewa Dictionary,* corroborated by several Michigan historians, shows that Lake Michigan has its origin in Kitchigama, or Michigama, meaning *Big Lake;* as the word Mississippi originates in Mitchi-sepe—*Mitchi* big, and *sepe* river. The terminal *gan,* or *goma,* or *gama,* according to Schoolcraft and other authorities, signifies *a body of water;* and prefixing Kitchi, or Mitchi, to it, we have the idea of quantity or size—hence *Big Lake.* Baraga also informs us, that *Sagaigan* means *Little Lake.* Sakaegan is unquestionably a corruption, or variation of Sagaigan—a slight change not uncommon in an unwritten aboriginal language. The Sauks preserved its original name; but the Pottawatomies, or some other Indians succeeding them, gave to this little lake the modern name of *Pee-wau-kee-wee-ning,* or *Lake of the Shells*—not Snail Lake, says Lapham,, for the great quantity of shells found on the land along the shore are not snail shells which are a land, not an aquatic animal. Hence, says Lapham, Snail Lake, as it is sometimes called, is an incorrect translation of the Indian name.

L. C. D.

Captain Thomas G. Anderson

Narrative of Capt. Thomas G. Anderson

Thomas Gummersall Anderson, whose name figures conspicuously in connection with the British capture of Prairie du Chien, in 1814, was born at Sorel, in Lower Canada, Nov. 12, 1779. His father, Samuel Anderson, at the commencement of the American Revolution, sympathizing with the mother country, received a commission in the King's Royal Regiment of New York, was wounded at Bunker Hill, and subsequently served under Sir John Johnson. Settling in Cornwall, Upper Canada, after the war, he held many local offices, and died in 1832, at the venerable age of ninety-seven years.

When the son, Thomas, was but a mere child, the father procured for him a commission as a cadet in his father's company, in the King's Royal Regiment. At the age of fifteen, he became a clerk, in 1795, in the store of Thomas Markland, in Kingston, remaining with him five years, when he resolved, as he expressed it, to enter upon "the battle of life" in the wild, and almost trackless forests of the Great Northwest.

His narrative and journal, the former of which, written apparently about the year 1870, give many interesting glimpses of the Indian trade, frontier life, and traits of Indian character in Wisconsin and Minnesota, from sixty-eight to eighty-two years ago; and throw much new light on the British expedition to, and capture of Prairie du Chien, in 1814, and the repulse of the American expedition, designed for its re-capture, at the Sauk Rapids of the Mississippi. They have never before been in print, and our Historical Society is indebted to his daughter, Mrs. Sophia Rowe, for the interesting narrative, and to O. H. Marshall, Esq., of Buffalo, for a copy of the valuable journal. After the removal of the Indian agency from Drummond Island to Penetanguishine and that vicinity, in November, 1828, Capt. Anderson continued in the employ of his government, attending to the wants of the Indians of his charge, providing comfortable houses for their use, and the necessary means of education and civilization. In 1836, the plan of settling the Indians in that part of Canada, on the Great Manitoulin Island on the northern border of Lake Huron, was inaugurated; and Capt. Anderson was placed in charge of the establishment, where he remained until 1845, when he was appointed visiting superintendent of Indian affairs, and payer of annuities, which he held until June 30, 1858—thus serving fifty-eight years on the frontiers, as a trader, and in the Indian department.

His experiences in Indian life were large and various. He thoroughly studied the Indian character, treating the red men with kindness when

leniency was the wiser course, and with severity when the occasion demanded it. It is related of him, that one day, while lying in his tent, a drunken Indian came in uninvited, and bending over him, knife in hand, made several pretended stabs at the prostrate trader; and would have done so in good earnest had not the captain, with his customary coolness, and knowledge of the Indian character, assumed the semblance of sleep, and refrained from making the slightest movement. After amusing himself in this way for several minutes, the Indian left; when Capt. Anderson called to his men to inquire of the fellow what he wanted? "Rum," was the reply. Anderson asked for a bottle, and on its being handed to him, knocked the Indian down with it, gave him a sound beating, and never saw him again.

It was both considerate and humane in Capt. Anderson to permit one of the American gun-boats, at the capture of Prairie du Chien, to retire down the river; and to allow the prisoners taken on the surrender of the fort, to leave on parole in the other gun-boat, under the protection of the British flag, so they should be safe from an attack on the part of Black Hawk and his warriors at the Rock River Rapids. He was afraid of the massacre of the prisoners by the rude savages serving under his banner, and took these precautions to avert so sanguinary an event.

While Capt. Anderson was himself a member of the Church of England, yet in the discharge of his duties as Indian superintendent, he uniformly respected alike the opinions and labors of Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Catholic missionaries. The welfare, spiritually and temporally, of the red man, appeared to be his controlling desire, from his engagement in the service of the Indian department to the time of his death. He frequently complained of what he considered the injustice done the Indians by the British government; and the neglect of them by the church of his fathers—to him causes of great anxiety. He was universally respected by the Indians under his supervision, and received from them many tokens of their affectionate regard. He was in every sense a good man. His death occurred at Port Hope, on the northern shore of Lake Ontario, February 16th, 1875, in the ninety-sixth year of his age, leaving two daughters and a son—the latter, Rev. G. A. Anderson, of Penetanguishine, Ontario. L. C. D.

About the beginning of March, 1800, I left Cornwall for Montreal to join my bourgeois, Robert McKinzie, who, by the by, was bred a tailor, but had made a pile of money by the Indian trade which, as a matter of course, enabled him to take rank among the "Big Wigs" of society. I was nearly a month too early for the canoe start to commence. I had, therefore, in the meantime, to live an idle, lonely life at a boarding-house. My boss was, however, fully employed laying in his goods, engaging men, canoes, etc.

My personal outfit consisted of a corduroy round-about, pants and vest, four striped cotton shirts, four pair of socks, and four "two and a half point blankets" sewed up in canvas—with two pair of blankets to cover me—forming my bed and bedding. A gun, powder-horn and shot-bag filled, fitted me for the hunt; and a traveling basket, containing a boiled ham, some sea biscuit, salt, tea, sugar and pepper, with a tea-pot, a small tin kettle in which to boil tea water, a tin cup for tea drinking, two tin plates, two knives and forks, two iron spoons, and a small canvas tent for fair weather. These articles, with two hundred dollars' salary, formed the usual outfit and wages for a clerk in the Mississippi Indian trade for the first year. During the long evenings of that youthful period, lots of youngsters sought my acquaintance, but a kind Providence kept me from their evil ways.

The 3d of April being now arrived, I was conveyed to Lachine, our starting point from civilization. I took a look at the bark canoe, which was to transport me to savage wilds. These canoes are about forty feet long, over five feet wide, and three feet deep, and made of the bark taken from the white birch tree, and sewed together with the small roots of the hemlock tree. The strips of bark were cut into the proper shape, and stretched upon a strong frame, composed of split cedar, and firmly sewed to it with the hemlock fibres. It is now ready for pitching—or, rather, "gumming"—which is performed by spreading on the seams a kind of resin prepared from the sap extracted from the pine tree—carefully laid on, and pressed firmly with the thumb. It hardens, and stops every leak.

Next morning at daylight, we were prepared to load. The canoe was placed in the water, when four nicely smoothed cedar poles, the length of the canoe, were laid in the bottom, in order that the cargo may bear equal pressure on the frail vessel throughout; and the most weighty packages laid on them to bind and confine them to the shape of the canoe. On these the heavier articles were placed, such as shot, axes, powder; then the dry goods to the brim. Over all was piled a month's provisions for all hands, consisting of pork, peas, and sea biscuit—the latter contained in canvas sacks, which, when filled, were five feet long, and two feet in diameter.

About 10 o'clock all was ready, and we embarked. On leaving the wharf, I was near causing the canoe, now top heavy, to turn over, and send all down the Lachine Rapids. Wishing to give all the *éclat* on my departure, I fired off my gun, which so surprised and startled all hands, that the canoe was nearly going over, which taught me to confine my rejoicings on future occasions to *terra firma.*

After proceeding a few miles, the guide, who is commodore, and is responsible for all during the journey, ordered a halt, and all hands to debark. A heavy rapid was before us, which must be surmounted. Among other necessary articles of the outfit was a rope about twenty yards long, one end of which was securely fastened to the prow of the canoe. Two of the men were ordered to strip to their shirts, whose duty it would be to wade to their middles up the rapids—one at the prow, the other at the stern of the canoe—to keep it clear of the rocks. The prowman or guide, and steersman, each with a long pole to ward off, while the remaining five men, sometimes in the water, and sometimes on shore, to pull at the rope.

When all was ready, the guide directed me to a very narrow path, which led me by the verge of a precipice, from which I had a view of the poor men below struggling against the cold rapids, which for two miles ran at the rate of fifteen or twenty miles an hour. At the end, no fire was made to dry the men's clothes and warm their feet; but all was hurry, and away to the camping ground, about three miles. The paddling was brisk, the song loud and lively, the water smooth, and the hungry mouths soon reached the end of their first day's journey.

The guide and all hands were very attentive to me, in carrying me in and out of the canoe, setting my tent in order, boiling my kettle, etc. I had nothing to do with the drudgery of cooking. The men's practice in the culinary art was very simple, but good. The tin kettle, in which they cooked their food, would hold eight or ten gallons. It was hung over the fire, nearly full of water, then nine quarts of peas—one quart per man, the daily allowance—were put in; and when they were well bursted, two or three pounds of pork, cut into strips, for seasoning, were added,

and all allowed to boil or simmer till daylight, when the cook added four biscuits, broken up, to the mess, and invited all hands to breakfast. The swelling of the peas and biscuit had now filled the kettle to the brim, so thick that a stick would stand upright in it. It looked inviting, and I begged for a plate full of it, and ate little else during the journey. The men now squatted in a circle, the kettle in their midst, and each one plying his wooden spoon or ladle from kettle to mouth, with almost electric speed, soon filled every cavity. Then the pipes were soon brought into full smoke.

Our encampment being at the foot of a small fall or cascade, over which canoes and all had to be transported, the guide would not allow talking; so all was bustle, each man's duty being, at every trip, to carry two packages of eighty-four pounds each, over the portages; and six men to carry the canoe, which counted for one trip for each of them, it remaining for them to carry a package afterwards. All was soon over, the boats re-loaded, when the paddle would resume its strokes, with the merriest songs accompanying its play. I conclude that the breakfast on pea soup, with the condition of the atmosphere, so affected the nasal organs that the men suffered intensely the first few days.

With respect to camping, cooking, and scenery, there was little variation during the journey. I may, however, mention the beautiful sheet of water falling about forty or fifty feet into the Ottawa, near the present city of that name, where at the time of which I write—seventy years ago—there was not even the shadow of a mansion. This fall was very properly called Le Rideau, for it has the appearance of a beautiful curtain.

At length we reached the Portage de Vause, three miles from Lake Nipissing. At the end of the portage was a log hut, with three or four Canadians—a North West trading-post; the only house or human beings we had seen since leaving Lachine. The people were very kind, giving me some fish, and offering me lodgings for the night; the former I thankfully received, but preferred my tent to the latter. Parts of two days were spent in getting all things over this long portage, while the peas, pork and cakes had been considerably lessened. The second day, how-

ever, we crossed the lake, and pitched our tents on the French River.

We had mounted seventeen portages, and we had to descend seventeen more to Lake Huron. The poor men were sadly worn out with the roughness of the last carrying place, and the guide considerately brought to, an hour earlier than usual, to give them a good rest, and an opportunity to wash—a business in which they had thus far spent little time, and lesser soap. The only time I tried the experiment of carrying packages was at the last long portage, where I got the guide to tie a pair of strings to a bag of biscuits, and load me with it; but it swayed about, and being top heavy, I could not walk steady. Before proceeding twenty yards, down I came, with the bag, in the mud. The men ran to unharness me, and laughed to see me enjoy the fun.

The next morning the sun stept forth, and with our paddles and songs we merrily left the lake behind us. How many days it took to reach Lake Nipissing from Lachine, or from Nipissing to Lake Huron, I know not, neither is it of any importance to past generations; but of this I am sure, that in due time we reached Lake Huron, and the keenness of the air of that broad sheet of pure water was felt night and day; and even at this distant period of seventy years, my proboscis takes offense at its sufferings at that time.

After getting over those seventeen portages, and running sundry rapids, at times going at the rate of ten knots an hour, we at length reached the big lake; and again, after paddling and working many days, we landed on Grosse Island, within nine miles of Messhemickanock—the Big Turtle; corrupted into Michilimackinac, and finally into Mackinaw.

The traverse being long and dangerous, it was deemed imprudent to undertake it with our full load; and it being late in the day, the guide concluded to encamp, and have everything ready for an early start in the morning. When the morning came I volunteered to guard the baggage at one end of the portage, enabling all hands to engage in the transportation of the goods and canoes; but here I was too desirous of reaching the end of this long journey, and would not stay. In this I was wrong, for one

of the men had to remain in charge of the half loads necessarily left, thereby weakening the carrying force, which might have proved serious had a high wind occurred. However, all was safe over, and in store by sunset.

Here, then, I was in Mackinaw, truly a stranger in a strange land. I knew no one, and my only care was to perform such duties as might be allotted to me, without a murmur. Mr. McKinzie's two outfits or equipments had arrived from their trading-posts. They called to see me, and I was informed by them that the furs they had brought on here, were to be packed in a certain way, for transportation by canoe to Montreal. At it I went, and before Mr. McKinzie arrived in a light canoe, the forty or fifty packs were pressed, marked, and the bills of the contents of each pack all ready. The men complained of being given little time, but Mr. McKenzie was surprised and pleased to find all in readiness for those who wanted to return without delay to Montreal, yet would stay to distribute the goods, which were brought under my supervision, into the three outfits he intended to send to trade with the Mississippi Indians the ensuing winter.

Two of the outfits were assigned to two brothers named Lagortroin, and the third to mysef. There was also a lot of old remainders of goods from a retail shop Mr. McKinzie had for long years before kept; these, not suitable for the Indian trade, I was directed to pack up, and take to St. Louis, and make the most of them. My orders were all verbal. My bourgeois—laboring men—were gone; my work was [light]; but it being too early in the season for me to start, I amused myself profitably in going out daily shooting pigeons for my pot. As my larder had nothing but hulled corn, tallow, and a small quantity of salt pork—this latter was kept as a luxury for rainy days, when the feathered tribe were permitted to rest.

As I had seen my dear mother make croxenyoles or curly cakes, of which I was very fond, so I thought I would try my hand at it. I accordingly procured two pounds of flour, put it into a wooden bowl—not over scoured, after fish—poured in cold water; not too much, lest I should drown and lose my flour, adding a little salt, and handled it until, to fancy, it appeared to

be first rate dough. My next care was to clean the pot of cobwebs, and put it over the fire with a good lot of tallow, which, by the way, had no small share of musty smell about it; but this, I thought, would evaporate by the heat. While this heating process was going on, I busied myself in cutting up my beautiful dough into all kinds of fancy shapes, cats, dogs, snakes, mice, etc. These effigies I now committed to their hot bath; and in a few seconds they were so nicely browned that my mouth fairly watered to overflowing, and I could wait no longer for a taste. I found the fork rather dull, so scooped them out with a wooden ladle. On their touching the cold plates, to my horror, though refined by the action of the fire, the tallow became as hard as a candle. To eat my fine looking cakes was impossible, as they had become hard, and tough as sole leather. However, I gave them to the men, who dissolved them in their next choice corn cooking; and thus ended my cake frying for all time to come.

My path to the pigeon ground lay immediately past a Notary Public's door and I had noticed sweet faces peering at the nice, handsome young sportsman as he passed daily with his gun. At length I was watched on my return; a young widow lady, standing in the door, as I touched my hat, said: "You appear to be a stranger." I replied: "Yes, just from Montreal." "Will you walk in and rest yourself?" "No, I thank you, I must give the men their corn." "Whenever," said she, "you feel lonely, we shall be glad to see you." I thanked her for her kindness. The Notary's hopeful son called upon me, and confirmed the invitation.

The next day my best Montrealers saw the light and got an airing, fitted for an afternoon's call. No pains were spared to prove that I was recently from civilized society. At four o'clock I was formally introduced by the Notary's son to his aged father, ditto mother, his widowed sister. Mrs. LaFrambois, his other sisters, and Miss Cowan. The engagé of the latter's father was killed by an Indian who was taken for his trial to Kingston, on board the schooner Speedy, Captain Paxton, where she foundered and all on board were lost, judges, lawyers, and all. I, of course, remained

to tea, and in the evening a "hop" was gotten up. This kind of fun was kept up almost daily during the remaining ten days of my stay. My canoe was at length ready, and I took a run up for *good bye*. I did not join in the general boo-hoos; but I felt pretty bad. They were lovely, loving, and lovable.

My help consisted of [two?] men for oarsmen, and one for steersman; and using a paddle they no longer craved for soup, pork and biscuit; but the more nutritious hulled corn and tallow replaced them. One quart of corn, with two ounces of tallow for seasoning, with nothing else, being a day's rations for each man; and on this, though their work was severe, they fattened like pigs. Nor were even my own store of dainties such as to induce me to eat more than nature required. The steersman having been promoted to the honorable position of my body servant, fared better than the other men, as he had the washings of the tea cup, and the picking up of crumbs from the mat in the tent.

I have, perhaps, got ahead of my story, as I ought to have said, that having departed from Mackinaw, I was now on a coasting journey on Lake Michigan exposed to storms, or calms, or burning suns, and eighty leagues of uninhabited wilderness to travel before I could reach Green Bay, or see any but savage faces. Tenting, sleeping, etc., were the same as on Grand River; certainly the air had improved—whether caused by the wide expanse of water I cannot positively affirm; but I am of the opinion, that the influence of the hulled corn on the human system produced a less repugnant feeling to the nasal organs.

After many days rowing, sailing and storm-bound, I landed at Green Bay, where were about a dozen settlers, scattered within the limits of perhaps four miles—little farmers, none cultivating more than five acres, their crops consisting of corn and potatoes. An old man lived here named Langlade, who had, until the Americans got possession of the country, been in the employment of the British government, whose daughter had married a trader named Grignon, from whom had sprung very many branches.

An English gentleman, Jacob Frank, and his nephew, John Lawe, Jews were extensively embarked in the fur-trade here

At this time, and for years after, I became very familiar with them; for, on this occasion, they tendered me much friendly advice how to conduct myself with the Indians, to beware of the cunning deceit, treachery, etc., of the traders, with whom I was about to mix up. This was the first good counsel I had heard on commercial business; and, to this day, it has been of service to me.

Here it became necessary to engage an interpreter, to perform also the duties of steersman. Only one suitable person could be found, and he must feed with the bourgeois. That was well enough, but he had an overgrown squaw wife, with two papooses not long hatched, and they must join the same mess. In stating to Mr. Frank my awful predicament, he laughed at me and said: "You can't better yourself; besides you will find that, in many cases, two or three incumbrances, or even half-a-dozen, such as your delicate ideas abhor, luxuriate in the same canoe." I could not help myself, so the next day was fixed for a start.

Tomorrow came. I took my breakfast with my friends. I found a nicely fitted place for me, immediately over six kegs of powder, of three hundred pounds weight—plenty to end our terrestrial journey by adding a spark. Contrary to a very old custom, and much to the annoyance of the smokers, I absolutely prohibited lighted pipes on the canoe. A nice location was fixed for Mrs. Bartram near her husband, Mons. Bartram, the interpreter. All this added no little incumbrance to the canoe.

We embarked, and away we started for the Portage du Ouisconsin, sixty leagues distant. Proceeding three miles, we came to the beginning of a six mile rapid, the greater part of which Lady Bartram and I had to take dry land to overcome, in order to relieve the canoe of surplus weight, as the men had to wade and carefully avoid the rocks, in dragging the canoe up this toilsome obstruction. The slow process of working up the rapids gave time for splendid fishing sport. Black bass were very abundant, and I caught enough for supper and breakfast for all on board.

Having at length overcome all the rapids, the water being low, the men were well tired, and I said "camp." The tents were soon up, the interpreter having one for himself and family; and

the loading of the canoe being re-fixed, ready for the morning's start. Meanwhile Lady Bartram busied herself in cleaning the fish, at which she appeared perfect—indeed, she might have secured a professorship anywhere for superiority in this line. Well, the fish are at length in the kettle, Lady Bartram fixing all the dishes, plates, etc., I had, on the mats in my tent. The fish were presented in a big tin dish, boiling hot—all Lady Bartram's volunteer work, having assumed entire control over the kitchen department.

Now, reader, you may wish for, but you won't get a taste. You may, however, take a peep at our tea party, all squatting flat on the mats; Mr. Anderson, the writer, presiding, with Lady Bartram on the right, Sir Bartram on his left, ready to bring the tea kettle, and then Master and Miss Bartram in front, scrambling for the fish eyes in the dish, at which their progenitors exult to witness their activity. Mr. Frank had said, "You'll get used to it." But I never will.

Crossing Winnebago Lake with difficulty, we pushed on through the Rice Lakes. Now we are fairly on Fox River, passing Butte des Morts. Here, many years since, a French Jesuit and his men had been murdered by the Winnebagoes. Camping and tea-ing with no variety; however, after some days, we got used to it.

In due time we reached Portage, Ouisconsin, a carrying place of three miles across to the Ouisconsin River. All over in two days. This river has a smooth, strong current, with many shifting sand banks. On this portage, I first became acquainted with rattlesnakes; and from all I had heard, I was not desirous of getting used to them.

Eighteen hours' travel, sixty leagues, brought us to Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi. Here was a little village of perhaps ten or fifteen houses; and at the [distance] of three miles were three farmers. Except one framed one, the houses were all built of logs, plastered with mud, and covered either with cedar, elm, or black ash bark. The people were nearly all Lower Canadians, carrying on, with small or larger stocks, the Indian trade. Without exception, they were kind and hospitable, and prided themselves in their honesty and punctuality in paying their debts, and

keeping their engagements. Very little money was in circulation. There were no lawyers to excite strife. Notwithstanding all this fair appearance, there were those among them, regarded as otherwise honorable, fair and clever, who would defraud and overreach his neighbor, even to despoiling him of his last copper.

After making the necessary arrangements, I started down the Mississippi for my wintering ground with the Sauk Indians. On arriving at the place, I found a house empty, in which some trader had wintered the year before. Possession, I thought, being nine points in law, I set all hands to making repairs, and stowed my goods into it. The next business was to give a portion of my goods on credit to a people I never before had seen. However, it was the mode of carrying on trade, and I must "get used to it." My house, which was now all right, had four good rooms, and two fireplaces—one in my room, and one in the rear or kitchen, which also warmed Lady Bartram on her east wing, and the shop or store in the west wing. Although neither papered nor carpeted, it was compact, warm and comfortable, in this un-Christian country, and uninhabited except by savages.

All being thus fixed, I embarked my retail shop goods, under the impression of making a *haul*, with my laces, muslins, satin slippers, etc. One day and a half [probably from about the locality of Quincy] on the swift current of the Mississippi, brought me to the Spanish town of St. Louis. I called on, and obtained leave from the Spanish regal authority, to open shop, hired a house, and exposed my precious finery in the dress line. Many called, admired, and would call again; some would go in for fifty or one hundred francs, if I would take *dairy* in pay—which was there understood to include cabbage, turnips and other vegetables, but no silver. We could not dicker, so after many days rent at one shilling and eight cents per day, to pay which made a hole in my stock of muslins, therefore, I must pack up and go. The only money I got or saw was one York shilling, and this from Mrs. Myers, a Jewess, from Montreal, for a ball of cotton wicking.

When I got back to my trading-post, I found four opposition traders—Monsieurs St. John, Blondeau, Berthelot, and Carron. They were all old hands, and viewed me as an intruder, and would

spare no means to ruin the *mangeur de lard* or pork eater, as those in infancy in the trade were roughly called. But a blessed guardian, who, with shame I say it, I knew not; and he it was who told me that swilling hot stuff, and gambling night and day with cards, was not right. I had not seen a book of any kind since I left my dear Cornwall in March.

Lady Bartram had kindly taken control of the *cuisine* department, and separated me from her own family, for which I rejoiced. I could not, however, get used to the marks left on my floor by the papooses. The long winter from November until spring, had to be worn out; and I did my share of rambling with my gun, shooting paroquets, picking and eating pecans, and breaking through the ice with narrow escapes.

My interpreter being an old hand at intrigue and trickery, and naturally suspicious, became aware, by frequently visiting my neighbors, of their vile plots against me, and enabled me to thwart their designs. The Indians returned from their hunt, paid about twenty-five per cent on their debts, and commenced trade. When this was over, my friends (the traders) sent thirty or forty Indians, half drunk, with a worthless bear-skin, and demanded from me a keg of rum—a gallon—therefor; and, on my refusal, they threatened to break the shop door, and take it. I stepped into my room, took from under my pillow a brace of brass pistols, and came back to the kitchen, only a minute's walk. I desired the interpreter to say, that the first man who strikes the door will be shot. In the bustle to clear out, the fellows took a loaf from the bake-kettle, and another took a brand from the fire, and stuck it into the straw, with which the building was covered. On hearing of it, I rushed out, and fired after them; but they fortunately had made good time, and were out of reach.

The trade being over, I quietly packed my furs, baled my goods, and got ready, without my neighbors knowing my object. By daylight canoes and cargo were at the landing place. While the boats were being loaded, Mrs. Bartram prepared breakfast, and I had made up my mind never again to winter near to people worse than savages. I set fire to my house, and embarked, having ordered an extra rowing place, where, if necessary, I could pull an oar, and keep ahead of my *friends*.

In order to reap the trade from such Indians as usually came from their hunts, and camped along the river where no trader wintered—with these, the first who came were first served. I had cause to rejoice that my cunning friends did not leave for two days after me; consequently the extra oar was not needed, and my trading friends had to take my leavings with the scattered bands *en route* for Prairie du Chien.

A few days rest for all hands, and following the fashion, I one day got senselessly drunk, which was the first and last time during my Indian trade tours. While at Prairie du Chien, I punctually attended all the best nightly balls. We sometimes kept Sunday; but whether on the right day was doubtful. My *friends,* the traders, at length arrived, who represented me as a fearless and dangerous person to be let loose amongst the Indians—always carrying gun and pistols, and would shoot any one who quarreled with me. This reputation was soon made known far and near—not a very favorable one under most circumstances. But it had a good effect with that class of traders who would get beastly drunk, and fight like dogs at night, and be good friends and love each other in the morning. Though I was far from deserving such a character as they gave me, it preserved me from the gross insults to which the meek and retiring were subject.

After our few days' sojourn, I started for Mackinaw. The journeying seemed to agree with Lady Bartram and family, for they were in as good health on our return to Green Bay as when we departed. Mr. McKinzie had arrived when I reached Mackinaw, and was quite pleased with my returns and doings generally; but as he was about to be married, he gave up the trade, and pressed me very hard to go back with him, as they were wanting me to fill my old place at Kingston. But my destiny was not so ordered, and I would not be persuaded. The offer was good; but something, I could not tell, held me back.

At my master's, in Kingston, I never saw a Bible, nor heard a word about religion, except in church, and when good old Dr. John Stuart, the former Mohawk missionary, attended to prepare me for confirmation—so, I now think, that my blessed guardian influenced my decision. It is true, it often occurred to my

mind with what devotion my ever dear father and mother read their Bibles on Sundays, and abstained from all week-day employments which were not absolutely necessary. They were now very old, and I would be delighted to see them; but my mind was fixed. There were no pleasures and enjoyments in the society and occupation which lay before me; I cared not for money, nor had I a desire to heap up riches. When my old master, Mr. Markland, wrote to me, while I was spending my last winter in Cornwall, requesting me to go back to him, my reply was, "I am engaged to Mr. McKinzie, and I shall look in future to my gun, knife and tomahawk for a support." This decision influenced me to refuse Mr. McKinzie's offers at Mackinaw to return to Kingston; for, from my boyhood, I felt proud of keeping my word.

I, therefore, engaged with my friend Mr. Frank, of Green Bay, and went and wintered [1801–1802], on the Rivière des Moines. This river empties into the Mississippi from the West, about forty miles above where I wintered last year.[1] I ascended the Des Moines about fifty miles, to the Ioway tribe of Indians—a vile set. A Frenchman named Julien[2] was my only competitor this year for the Indian trade at this point. These Indians hunted near the Missouri, about ninety miles across the country from where we were located.

It would have been an easy matter, though somewhat expensive, to have sent goods around by and up the Missouri to the vicinity of the hunting grounds of the Ioways; but to avoid this expense, for which there seemed no necessity, Julien and I agreed that neither would send outfits there, but trust to our own exertions in the spring, when the Indians, we concluded, would bring the furs to our shops. I considered myself quite away from trickery; but as time hung heavily upon me, I wore it away as well as I could by hunting, making oars, paddles, and other *whittlings,* until about Christmas. Then Mons. Julien and his interpreter had a quarrel; and following the vile conduct of his master in deceit, he told me that Julien had deceived me, having sent goods up the Missouri last fall.

[1] This would place the former trading-post not very far from the present city of Quincy. L. C. D.

[2] Doubtless Julien Dubuque. L. C. D.

This was a thunder-clap to me. An immediate explanation from Mr. Julien was demanded. I was furious, and showered all the abuse I could muster on his cringing head. My mind as to what was best to do under the circumstances, was soon made up. I called my interpreter into council, and said, "Now, boy, you know how Mr. Julien has deceived me; are you willing and ready to carry a load on your back across to the house near the Missouri, which Mr. Julien has treacherously put there, with the intention of stealing all the credits I made to those Indians last fall." All were willing. "Tit for tat," said I; "he wanted to *ruin* me, I will only *injure* him. Some of you ask his interpreter to go with us, and carry a load." He accepted the invitation. Then my party, including myself, became nine strong.

I left my own interpreter in charge of the Des Moines trading-post, and started the next day with seven loaded men, taking provisions for one day only, depending on game for our supply. The little islands of wood, scattered over the boundless plains, were swarming with wild turkeys, so that we had plenty of poultry. At the end of six days we reached our destination safe and sound, taking Mr. Julian's two *engagés* by surprise. My party soon fitted up a temporary shop. Not long after, the Indians came in, made a splendid season's trade, managed for the transportation of my packs of fur by leaving a man to help Mr. Julien's two *engagés* down with their boat. Thus I completed my winter, and Mr. Julien found his trickery more costly than he anticipated.

My next winter [1802–1803] was spent with the Winnebagoes, on Rock River. They were the most filthy, most obstinate, and the bravest people of any Indian tribe I have met with. Here I had a half-breed in opposition in the trade. Our houses were about half a mile apart, and between us was a very high hill, over which we had to pass by a little path through the bushes. On one occasion, returning from my neighbor's, on a very dark night, I lost the path. The hill, I was aware, terminated on my right, in a precipice at least three hundred feet from the river below, and that the path ran within fifty or sixty feet of the precipice. I was at a loss what to do. If I sat down to await the return of daylight, I would surely go to sleep, and in a dream,

perhaps, walk to my destruction. So I determined to walk about, feeling carefully with my feet for the path; but, as people generally do when they become confused, I went the wrong way, and soon found by my steps that I was going down hill. I, therefore, lay down on my stomach, to get at the level of the ground, placing my head up hill, intending to work myself along in that way until I could get into a thicket, and there remain until morning. I got on the path, however, before I found a thicket. My house was soon found; and this was my last visit after nightfall. On examining my trail the next morning, I found I had been within six feet of the precipice, which, had I reached it, must have proved fatal to me. I had a good season's trade, during this winter of [1802–1803], and had plenty of venison, wild fowls, and wild or native potatoes to eat, but awful human brutes to deal with.

My short sojourn at Prairie des Chiens, the rendezvous of the Mississippi traders, presented but little variation; and our journeying from and to Mackinaw only differed in this respect—that in the summers the rivers were low and sluggish, and, in returning to Mackinaw, we could not make more than from three to ten miles a day in ascending the Ouisconsin.

Having had enough of the Lower Mississippi, I would not try it over again. *Minnawack* (or Millwackie) was offered to me for a trading-post, and I went among the Kickapoos. About a quarter of a mile from the entrance of the river, I observed a nice green and level spot. There I landed, and pitched my tent, towards the close of 1803; and, in a short time, we had a three-room house over our heads—no upstairs; but all the timbers above the floor exposed to view. The river here is, perhaps, sixty yards wide. On the opposite side were two traders—Le Claire, and La Fromboise—who had been settled there several years, and each had two or three relatives, or other hangers on, which formed quite a society of its kind. I had bought a horse, and considered it my duty to ride over the plains, and pick up skins from the scattered Indian camps.

My neighbors had been very kind, and I made up my mind to exercise my best endeavors in the cooking line, and tender them

a rare feast on Christmas day, which was now near at hand. On Christmas eve my invitations were extended to my friends. I had secured the fattest raccoon the Indians could tree; and defied any one to procure a fatter one, for there was no lean about it. Towards sunset, I set my cook to chop any quantity of venison for stuffing. My raccoon was unusually large, weighing about thirty-two pounds, requiring a large quantity of stuffing to fill it out plump. In the meantime, I had the pepper in a piece of deer skin, pounding it into pulverized form, cutting up onions, and a little cedar leaves, to give my viand a pleasant taste. No coonship's body, I am sure, was ever so cram-full before. About eight o'clock, it was stitched up, and ready for placing on the spit early the next morning. Then where should it be placed for safety during the night to prevent it from freezing? Of course by the fire. I went to bed, and my mind was on the raccoon subject all night. But what was my mortification, when I got up at daylight to hang my coon up to roast, to find it putrid and stinking. Oh, misery! sympathize with me for my lost labor, and with my friends for their lost dinner. I had no cook book. So ended my second attempt at cooking. Of course, I went without my dinner, and got laughed at by my half-famished friends.

The Indians—Pottawotamies—in this locality, were docile, and easily managed; and doing a fair trade, I remained here three years, frequently going on horseback to Chicago, a distance of sixty [eighty-five] miles; but the route was a hard-sand beach; and having a fleet pony, and a cool breeze from the lake, the distance was soon overcome without fatigue to my young bones.

During my second year at Minnawack, or Millwackie [1804–1805], Captain Whistler with his company of American soldiers, came to take possession of Chicago. At this time there were no buildings there except a few dilapidated log huts, covered with bark. Captain Whistler had selected one of these as a temporary, though miserable residence for his family, his offices and men being under canvas. On being informed of his arrival, I felt it my duty to pay my respects to the authority so much required in the country.

On the morrow I mounted *Keegekah,* or Swift-Goer, and the

next day I was invited to dine with the captain. On going to the house, the outer door opening into the dining-room, I found the table spread, the family and guests seated, consisting of several ladies, as jolly as kittens. The gents had not yet arrived. I had not been seated ten minutes before the door opened, and in rushed a host of Indian warriors, hideously painted, scantily dressed, ornamented with feathers, bear's claws, deer's horns, snake's rattles, etc., etc. The ladies almost fainting, ran off, leaving the captain and myself to see the end.

The first act of the war chiefs was to walk around the table, and pick up the pieces of bread which had been placed, after the old fashion, beside the plate of each guest, which he handed to his young men in attendance. Being acquainted with the chief, and knowing something of the language, I asked him: "What brings you here in this garb? Your great Big Knife father has sent his soldiers here to protect you, and to encourage more traders to come among you; and instead of being thankful, you come to insult them. You had better go to your camp and bring them some venison, and be kind to them." He shook hands with me, and went off with his followers. I have ever considered my having been present on that occasion to have been Providential, in saving the lives of this detachment; for, in all probability had not some one been present acquainted with the Indian character, Captain Whistler would have called in some of his men to expel the war party, in which case it is easy to imagine what the consequences might have been.

In 1804, while trading with the Pottawotamie Indians at Minnawack, or Millwackie, having no society, and little to do, I was naturally enough very lonely. I, therefore, undertook a journey along the lake shore, to visit my friend, Jacob Frank, at Green Bay. The first day's journey brought me to an encampment of Pottawotamies, at Two Rivers, nearly seventy miles distant, reaching there before night. I put up at the lodge of an old Indian chief, named Nanaboujou, who gave the following account of the origin of his tribe, in answer to my inquiry on the subject:

"I take my name," said he, "from my original ancestors, who were the first living man and woman. They found themselves in

a big canoe; all the animals were also in the same canoe, floating on thick water. After a while the ancestors insisted that there must be something much more substantial beneath the water. To test it, they wanted the deer, or some other animal, to dive down and ascertain. None would venture on so perilous and uncertain an undertaking. At length a beaver volunteered to make the effort, and jumped overboard, plunging beneath the waters. After a long time he rose to the surface, almost dead, without being able to relate anything satisfactory. But the ancestors still persisted that there must be a hard substance upon which the waters rested. Finally they persuaded the muskrat to go on a trip of discovery. He, too, was gone a long time on his sub-watery exploration; but at length he emerged from the flood of waters quite exhausted. The woman ancestor took him up in her arms, and on nursing and drying him to bring him to, found a little clay adhering to one of his forepaws. This she carefully scraped off, worked it between her thumb and finger, and placed it on the water to see if it would float. It immediately began to increase in size, and in three days it was more than three fathoms broad.

The wolf now began to grow very troublesome, snarling and growling at all the other animals, so that the woman ancestor scolded him sharply, but to no purpose. At length she got angry and threw him out upon the little island, which was as yet too small to bear him up in one position. He, therefore, had to run round and round the edge of the little island, which is the cause of the shores of lakes and rivers being harder than the rest of the land. The island continued to grow, herbs sprang up on it, so that they could send other animals out of the canoe to find a lodgment there.

The woman ancestor said to her husband: "What a pity we have no trees growing on the island," and proposed to paddle around somewhere to find a tree. They soon found a nice little balsam flower, which they brought and planted in the center of the island. It grew in a very short time till it reached the sky. They then observed an object over their heads, moving east and west, day after day. The woman ancestor was quite captivated with it, and she sent her husband up the tree, to set a snare to

catch this beautiful object. He went up, and found it had the appearance of an old woman. However, he set a snare, and descended. The beautiful object was caught in the net, and there it stuck. The woman ancestor was perfectly outrageous because it was stopped in its course; and scolded her husband for setting the trap. She then desired her husband to ascend the tree, and let the beautiful object go on its course again; but he declined to do so. She then tried to get the deer and other animals to go up; but they could not climb. At last she induced a raccoon to make the effort. The heat was so great when he got near the object, that it scorched him, and he came tumbling down through the branches of the tree. The good woman was now in a greater rage than ever, when she found she could not have her curiosity gratified, and the object loosened from its captivity. After a long time a mole volunteered to go up. All the other animals began to laugh at him for his temerity; but up he went, and when he got near the object, finding it very hot, he managed *to burrow* along till he reached the snare, and cut the object loose. But in doing so, he scorched his nose, and that is the reason why moles have brown noses and small eyes; and the sun once loosened from its trap has been going ever since.

Such was Nanaboujou's legend.[1] After its relation, I closed

[1] The earlier portion of this Pottawotamie legend evidently refers to the general deluge. Other tribes have also had handed down to them more or less vaguely, traditions of the deluge. Some of these traditions are related by Schoolcraft in his *History of the Indian Tribes*, vol. i, p. 17; Vol. vi, pp. 571-72, as preserved variously by the Algonquins, Iroquois, Cherokees, Muscogees. and Chickasaws—all agreeing that there was a general cataclism, and that but few persons were saved. The Algonquins, he says, relate, that when the deluge began to submerge the mountains, a benevolent God, called Manabo, ascended a high elevation—climbed a tree, and as the waters rose, he commanded the tree from time to time to grow taller, which obeyed the injunction; when at length he directed successively the loon, the beaver, otter, and mink, to dive down and find bottom; but none of them succeeded. At last he sent the muskrat; "for," said he, "your ancestors were always famous for grasping the muddy bottoms of pools with their claws." The animal succeeded in bringing up a morsel of earth in its claws; and from this new chaotic mass, the Algic deity re-created the earth.

A recent Des Moines correspondent of the St. Paul *Pioneer Press* gave this

my eyes in sleep. Next morning at day-break, I journeyed on my snow-shoes, cutting across a point of land, and after a hard day's tramp, I at length reached my destination.

After my third years' winter at Minnawack [1805–1806] and return to Mackinaw, the foreign markets requiring a better quality of peltry, I was solicited to go to the Upper Mississippi to the Sioux country. I wintered [in 1806–1807] on the St. Peter's River, about fifty miles above its mouth. I took up my station in a delightful part of the wood-fringe. Each bank of the river was enriched with a strip of timber, which in some places extended back a mile from the stream. Here the deer, wild fowl, and other game were in abundance; and as I had dismissed the Indians to their hunting grounds before reaching this spot, I had all the hunting to myself, and had plenty of meat—roasted geese, ducks, prairie hens, etc., but no vegetables. My French Canadian cook would occasionally treat me with a cake, baked in the ashes, from my scanty allowance of flour. As a treat, I would sometimes have venison fried in deer's tallow in the kettle,

---

statement, which embodies the same idea: "Several of the leading men of the Musquakie tribe of Indians, from their reservation in Tama County, were here recently. They were in charge of George Davenport, their agent, who was born among the Indians at Rock Island, and in whom they have great confidence. Mr. Davenport related many incidents in the history of the Sacs and Foxes, who formerly occupied this territory. The Musquakies are the remnants of these tribes. Mr. Davenport says they observe religious rites which closely resemble those of the ancient Hebrews. They have a Bible, of which there are several copies among the tribe, which are ancient, and preserved with great care. Each bible consists of twenty-seven parts. It is written in characters and signs known only to them. They utter prayers to a supreme being in a language entirely different from that in which they converse usually. What it is, Mr. Davenport has never been able to learn, nor has he been able to get a copy of their Bible. They get from their Bible a tradition which corresponds to our accounts of the deluge; for, one day, when Mr. Davenport was attempting to explain to them the existence of a God, and his relation to man, and also of Noah and the deluge, one of the chiefs replied: 'Ugh! We know that long time. We was all in canoes tied together. On top heap water. We put down muskrat—one, two, good many times. He come up. Last time he go down, he come up he bring mud. We know water go down.' Their religious rites are held in secret." L. C. D.

or in the long frying pan. These steaks I could not eat hot enough to prevent their congealing in their progress to my throat; consequently the roof of my mouth would become so thickly cased over with tallow as to necessitate the use of my knife to remove it. About the beginning of March [1807], the Indians came in from their hunt, encamped around my trading-house, and began to pay their debts, and trade for the surplus. A crust had formed on the snow, and all the young Indians and boys went off, and, for amusement, wantonly tomahawked every deer they could find, as the poor creatures, breaking through the crust, could not get out of the way. Deprived of venison, the wild fowl came in abundance. I made up my packs, and got ready for a start, trading off the remnant of my goods with scattered bands on my way down to Prairie des Chiens.

My returns for the season's trade were good; and I concluded to operate with the Sioux as long as I should remain in the business. The following winter [1807–1808], I re-occupied my last year's trading-post on the St. Peter's, but under very different circumstances. The wantons recklessly killing off the deer last March, brought a judgment upon all. There was not a deer to be seen. The winter was a very mild one, and the buffalo did [not] travel so far south as we were—consequently all were without provisions. The nearest tribe of Indians to me were fifty or sixty miles away, on the trail the buffalo usually took in the winter season, and they were in a starving state.

I had consumed every article I had of the eatable kind, including several packs of deer skins. I and my men roamed about in quest of game, without success. We set traps of all kinds, in which we occasionally caught wolves, fishers, martens, and minks, all of which went to the pot, and I could take my share of all, except of the wolf. My cook said he would dress a piece, and dish it up so I would like it; so he cut off a choice bit from one just brought in, and put it into the bake-kettle, seasoning it with pepper, salt and mustard, adding some Stoughton bitters, and a glass of high wines to give it a taste of chicken. But with all this knowledge of refined cookery, I could not stomach what tasted to me like a mouse-nest; for when better food cannot be

had, the wolves live on mice. The men, however, devoured it as voraciously as cats would their victims.

Foxes were in great abundance, but they were too cunning to be caught in the traps. They would take the bait, and spring and turn over their traps, but were careful to keep their toes out. So I thought I would trick them, and show them my cunning. I took six steel traps, and, with the aid of my tomahawk, set them in such a way that they would have to walk over them to get at the bait, which I placed in the circle formed by the traps. On visiting my device the next morning, I found one fox had been out-witted. I discovered him, crouched behind a bunch of grass, as if ashamed of having been over-reached.

On my way home, I met a deer, walking leisurely toward me on the ice; on seeing me, he bolted up the bank, and after a few bounds in the deep snow, he stuck fast, and, coming up to him, I soon relieved him from his dilemma by sticking my knife into his vitals.

I left him on the ice with my traps, and, returning to the station, sent a couple of men for them, and great was our rejoicing. But I was saving of the venison; all the inwards were cleaned, and served to give a relish to wolf, or such other meat of the kind as Providence was pleased to throw in our way. Time, under such circumstances, I scarcely need say, hung heavily upon me. March, however, at length came, and my hunting host brought in their rich returns, and the wild fowl were with us again in clouds, and in due time we recovered our lost flesh.

News reached me that the [Indians] who had gone in the fall to winter on the route usually taken by the buffalo, had been starving; many had died from want. In a small lake in their vicinity, it was said, that forty bodies of men, women and children had been found. It appeared, that as soon as the ice was out of the lake, they waded in, feeling with their feet for turtles and roots for food; but being too weak to return to land, they would fall down in the water, and there remain. Some were found dead on the plains.

My return to Mackinaw was as in former years. The next season [1808–1809], I wintered higher up the river, at Lac qui

Parle. All went well here. I arrived unusually early at my post, so that I went with a party of Indians on a buffalo hunt to the source of the St. Peter's, the Big Stone Lake, perhaps thirty miles in circumference. We went up in canoes; but long before a buffalo could be seen on the plains, my attention was directed to a rumbling noise, like rolling thunder at a distance, which seemingly caused the whole country to quiver and shake; and as we drew nearer, the awful bellowing of ten thousand enraged bulls was truly frightful. We were now skulking noiselessly along, endeavoring to reach a few acres of wood land before us. A short distance above this was a bay, which was crowded with buffalo swimming in all directions. As far as the eye could reach, the prairie was black with these animals.

On reaching the woods, I was permitted to raise up a little, and peep into the bush, which was also full of them, and some of them within ten yards of us. But I was forbidden to fire. My guides said, when I got on the hill, some fifty yards off, where there were no trees, then I might go ashore, and kill all I could. How the guide got to his place without disturbing them, I know not, for the little bush was swarming with them; but when I made my appearance, they were so excited, running off towards the plains, and I so astonished, that I could not take aim at any one of them; but I fired into a batch, which were brought to bay for a second by my friend on the hill, who had shot three fat cows in as many minutes.

The squaws now went to their work of cutting up the meat. The hides were not cared for, so they only took the skin off of such parts as they wanted for immediate use, or to slice up and dry or smoke—the only means they had for preserving it even for a few days.

My friend, Wyobegah, the marksman, invited me to accompany him a couple of miles to a little lake, where he said we would find lots of buffaloes drinking and washing themselves. We did not want meat; but, savage-like, we wanted to kill game.. On nearing the lake, we could, as he said, see large numbers of animals drinking and washing. A fringe of strong grass, four feet high, surrounded the water. We approached carefully on all

fours; he leading the way in front, reached the grass-fringe, which he divided with his gun; and, at length, made sign for me to look through the opening. Within five yards of us stood a monster bull, which appeared to my astonished eyes twenty feet high. I wanted to shoot him; but Wyobegah shook his head, at the same time giving an un-buffalo grunt, when the monster animal reared on his hind legs, gave a whirl around, and away he went. Wyobegah's aim was to kill a cow, but he missed his object, and ran off leaving me to look out for myself, which I did by securing a position behind a large tree, where I intended to attack some lonely passer-by.

I had not remained there long before a big bellower came towards me; but I observed by his line of approach, that he would be too far from the reach of my gun, so I went nearer to where he would pass. Putting two balls in my gun, and hiding in the grass, I awaited his coming, for he approached within twenty yards of me. I took deliberate aim at his heart. He stopped, and furtively cast about for his enemy. I wished my tree was nearer, for I was sure he would be after me, and my plan was to get the start of him. I was soon on my legs, and he after me; but I beat him, and got safe to the tree before him. But I was too shaky to load my gun, and he passed on not noticing my dodging behind the tree, and he was soon out of sight.

Returning to camp, a plentiful supply of marrow bones were ready for the hunters. The mode of cooking the marrow is to hold the bones over the fire until they are nicely browned; then break or split them in two with the tomahawk, and dig the marrow out. It is very nice, and does not clog the stomach like other fat, or congeal in the mouth like deer's. In fact, if we had salt, bread, or vegetables of any kind to eat with it, it would have been doubly delicious. All this time I had not killed a single buffalo of the thousands I had seen, and all because I did not know how; while Wyobegah had killed seven, and all we took away did not amount to the meat of one animal. We returned home the next day.

My principal occupation during the winter was making oars, paddles, etc., ready for an early spring start. March at length

came, and, to my grief, I got word from my hunters that they were not coming to the trading-house; but would pass about two days' journey to the south, on the route for Santa Fé, to get wild horses, etc. The next morning, my interpreter and four men were on their way to their camp, to collect all they could on account of goods advanced to the hunters on credit the preceding fall. They collected twenty-five per cent. less than was due; but I had a chance of making up the nominal loss by trade with those who did come to my post, and I sent word to the band who had cheated me, that I would not give them any credit next fall.

In the autumn [of 1809], I delayed reaching my wintering-grounds, in the Big Stone Lake region, until the middle of November, and suffered much inconvenience in consequence, being obliged to assist the men in breaking the ice in many places, and sometimes to wade up to our middles in water to drag the boat through the ice. We at length, however, reached our old trading-post about four o'clock of an afternoon, found fifty or sixty lodges there; and we had just time to stow away my goods in the house, where the men slept. My interpreter, his wife, and I, preferred to spend our nights in my large leathern lodge, or markee, until the necessary repairs should be made in the house for our winter's comfort.

Some of the Indians inquired whether I intended to give them credit as formerly; and I, reminding them of their ill-treatment of me in only partially paying their last year's debts, said I should not trust them again. We got our supper as usual; and as was the custom, my lodge was soon filled with Indian visitors, smoking and telling stories. The interpreter and his wife lay down, and I soon followed suit, and hardly closed my eyes when the interpreter spoke to me in a low voice, not calculated to awaken suspicion, saying his wife informed him, that the Indians were talking of killing us, and seizing the goods. I turned over quietly and took a smoke, and intimated to my interpreter to do the same, meanwhile joking with the Indians around us in the lodge about swan shooting, etc. We took down our guns on pretence of getting them ready for the morning's shooting; but, in truth, for our defense, if necessary. I had my tomahawk and knife all ready to kill before being killed.

While the Indians were still smoking their pipes, and I stretched in a sleeping position, a bustle was heard at the door, and in popped a tall, good-looking Indian, painted, feathered, and armed in full war costume. My time has come, I thought; but, being a law-abiding person, it would be wrong in me to break the peace, so I sat on the defensive. But I was soon all right, for my war friend was asked by one of my smoking visitors what was up, that he was thus attired at this late hour? "I am come," he replied, "to die with the white people; if they must be killed, I must first be put out of the way, for they shall not be hurt while I live. You had better go to your lodges, and let this man, who has brought us ammunition, etc., to save our lives, go to his rest. I am going to guard him." They all hurried off. He said to me, "go to sleep," and I did so without delay.

At daylight I was preparing a present for the band, as they could not hunt without ammunition, etc. I put up powder, ball, and shot to match, tomahawks, knives, and other needful articles. When I had them all in readiness, I said to the principal men who were seated around: "You cheated me last year in not paying your debts as you promised; and for that reason, I will not trust you again; but knowing that you cannot live without my help, take these articles, and divide them among your band. If you have the hearts of men, you will think of me next spring." The whole camp was shortly moving, and I got my gun, and was just starting for shooting swan, which were flying over in large flocks; and while emerging from the door of my lodge, I met my guardian, who asked me where I was going. When I informed him, he bade me go back, and stay there until he should ascertain that it was safe for me to expose myself. Now, for the first time, I really felt that my life was in danger, and had only escaped the assassin by God's good providence in sending this man to save me. Not here and there individuals, but the entire band became my deadly foes because I would not give them my goods on credit, as all former traders had done.

This man, who had so opportunely come to my relief, was of course my guest for the time being. The next morning, about ten o'clock, he had walked quite a circuit around my house, ex-

amining for tracks, in case there should be any one of the band lurking about for mischief; but finding all safe, he told me I could go and shoot swan. I had never seen this man before; and, on inquiry, my interpreter informed me that he was a half-breed, the son of a gentleman from Montreal, who had been in the trade many years before, named Ance, and had retired. I went to my shop, opened some packages, and gave him a present, of which he was proud, and was as heavy as he could conveniently carry. I never saw him again. This proved to be the hardest winter I ever met with in my journey through life.

Old Wackhawendutah, or Red Thunder, was one of the bravest, and most universally respected, chiefs among all the numerous Sioux bands. What brought him into such high esteem, may be worth noting. An Ottawa Indian, from Lake Michigan, had, by some means, wandered away from his own country, and joined Red Thunder's band, where he received the kindest hospitality; but his tribe, in Michigan, were at war with the Omahaw Indians, on the Missouri. In their rambling or pleasure seeking during the summer season, though their homes might be widely separated, strange tribes would often come in contact, and have great fun, horse-racing, ball-playing, and very many other means of amusement, with which the whites are not familiar.

On the occasion in question, about two hundred lodges each of Sioux and Omahaws encamped on the great plains within visiting distance of each other. This happened many years before I saw Red Thunder. It soon became known in the Omahaw camp that Red Thunder was harboring one of their enemies, and a party was immediately sent to bring the Ottawa, dead or alive. Red Thunder used every argument in his power to save his *protegé*, but to no purpose. Then taking his gun, he said, "Since you will not permit me to keep the Ottawa, you shall not kill him, but I will," and shot him, the same ball accidentally killing a young Omahaw who was behind the Ottawa. The Omahaws took the two bodies away with them. War was now imminent in consequence of this mishap of Red Thunder's; and, in order to avert the impending outbreak, early the next morning the

Sioux chief mounted his horse, and rode alone to the Omahaw camp, singing his death song, and with his knife, as he rode among their lodges, cut pieces of flesh from his thighs, and throwing them to the dogs, saying, "My friends, I fed my dogs with your flesh yesterday, and am now come to feast your dogs on my poor flesh, in hopes that we may continue brethren." Red Thunder was carefully taken from his horse, his wounds dressed; and, in time, he was loaded with presents and sent home, thus preserving the harmony of the two warlike tribes.

In 1813, old Red Thunder and part of his band volunteered to go with Col. Dickson against the Americans, and were present at the battle of Fort Meigs, on the Maumee. On his return home, he had many marvelous stories to relate, such as the folly of the English soldiers running up to cut down the pickets, and being themselves shot down in the attempt. Another great piece of folly was, in his estimation, "that the English had placed their great big guns—cannon—a long way from the pickets; and they took little tin kettles, filled them with rifle balls, and put these kettles, one at a time, into the big gun, and fired it off at the clouds, as if they were ducks. "I told them," said Red Thunder, "to shoot at the fort; but they laughed at me, and I left them in disgust, and came home."

Having mentioned and described this old chief, who shared with me the hard winter [of 1809–1810] before us, I will proceed in my narrative. Old Red Thunder, with two other lodges of his band, after Ance had been gone a few days, arrived, and encamped quite close to my house. A few Indians, in this way, generally wintered about the traders' houses. They had no store of provisions, but hoped, as I did, that buffalo meat would abound. Warned by a former year's sufferings, I kept in store five or six bushels of corn. I and the Red Thunder's boys killed more of the wild fowl than fed us all for awhile. But the marshes were soon frozen over, and that supply was cut off. There were no wolves or small game of any kind in this part of the country; so Red Thunder's people were soon reduced to subsist on the old buffalo hides they had used to sleep upon, perhaps for years.

Under these circumstances, common humanity induced me to share my corn with them, which was becoming daily reduced. In the meantime, I with my men and the Indian boys were constantly roaming about, in hopes of finding something we could convert into meat. One day one of the men found the head of an old buffalo, which some of his race had lost last summer, and with difficulty brought it home. We all rejoiced, in our straitened circumstances, at this piece of good luck. The big tin kettle was soon filled and boiling, with a view of softening it and scraping off the hair; but boiling water and ashes would not stir a hair. We then dried it, in hopes we might burn the hair off; but in vain. We felt sadly disappointed, as we were on short rations, our corn supply drawing near an end.

In this dilemma, Mrs. Red Thunder, almost in despair, took her axe, and started in quest of bitter sweet, or wild ivy; and succeeded in bringing home all she could carry, and reported that there was plenty more. This vine is readily prepared for food. It is cut into chunks from one to three inches long, and boiled until the coarse, thin bark easily separates itself from the stem. The bark then makes at least three-fourths of the original quantity; it is spongy, and of a bitter-sweet taste. It is quite nutritious; and though one might not fatten on it, still it would preserve life for a long time.

I now took three of the men, and started in the direction the buffaloes usually, in mild winters, travel. We followed the river, and within four or five miles, we discovered a buffalo. Two of the men, being old hunters, said at once, "That's a scabby old fellow, not worth shooting." However, as he was not far off, I said I would try my hand at him. So, taking advantage of the wind, and skulking through the tall grass, his time was come. Crack! went my rifle, and he was down and well out of misery. On examination, it was found that his back and the upper part of his sides were a mass of scabs and blood, where the magpies and other carniverous birds had pecked and fed, as they do when these animals become too old and feeble to defend themselves.

Proceeding on our journey, we came to a hole in the ground made by an otter, around which he had deposited ever so many

poly-wogs, of which it would have been unkind to have deprived him of his food supply. We soon after came upon the tracks of a ground-hog, and soon found his cave. We then went to work to exhume the body, for purposes well known to hungry people in these parts.

As we neared the end of our day's journey—a dreadfully cold day it was—one of the hunters called my attention to a black spot on the hill-side, fully a mile beyond our intended camping place. He thought it was a buffalo, and said, "Let's go and see." So I sent the other two men to prepare our night's lodging, while St. Maurice, the best hunter, and I started off with the murderous intent of bagging a big game. We availed ourselves of every means of avoiding observation by our intended victim, so we might get within a safe shot of the apparently sleeping buffalo. At length we reached a little hillock, within twenty yards of what we regarded as more meat than we could carry home. Putting in fresh priming, St. Maurice whispered, "I'll fire as he rises, and you reserve your charge for use in case he runs at us." "All right," said I; and St. Maurice, not to cause too much excitement in the poor buffalo, whom he regarded as about drawing his last breath, gave a gentle whistle, but no movement; he whistled louder and louder, then gave a yell, but still he stirred not. We then went up to him; he was dead, but not quite stiff.

We managed to take his tongue and heart to our camp, which was in some old trader's wintering house. The ground-hog was ready for supper; and before bed-time, was nearly all gone. The tongue and heart were nicely cut up, and washed, ready for early cooking in the morning. Whether ground-hog meat acted as an opiate or not, I cannot say; but this I know, we all slept later than we intended, and the wonder was, that some of us were not frozen, for it was bitter cold, and our bedding consisted only of each man's blanket, which it was his privilege to carry, with extra moccasins, etc., on his back, when not otherwise in use.

When I turned out in the morning, the cook had got up a rousing fire, and the tongue—the most dainty part of the buffalo—and part of the heart, were in the kettle, ready to hang on the fire.

Of course I had no washing tools at hand; pants and socks were found where I left them when I retired to rest—that is, on my legs and feet. A *very* slight rub of snow on the hands and eyes finished my toilet for the expected delicious repast. "Which will you have, sir, tongue or heart?" This directed my eyes to the kettle, boiling over with a black bloody froth, with a sickening putrid smell. I bolted out of the house, leaving the men to smack their lips on heart and tongue, while I took the remnant of the ground-hog to the open air.

Breakfast over, it was concluded that the non-hunter and St. Maurice should strike out on the plains, while Beaubien, an old hunter, and I, should go up the river, all parties to meet at a certain point. When I had reached the place indicated, I cast my eyes around to see if the others were coming, and I noted instead a pair of frightful, infuriated monster eyes—a buffalo of the scabby kind, lying half way up the bank of the stream; his breath had turned to white frost, enveloping his body, so that not a particle of him was visible save his eyes, which were greatly dilated, and apparently bent on mischief. I jumped up on the opposite bank, and took my stand behind a tree. In these days I was a good shot. I took deliberate aim, and hit him in the temple. He did not appear to feel it. I fired four shots, which brought St. Maurice, and to my delight, a strange Indian with him. I now advanced to old scabby, and hit him to no purpose; one more shot, placing the muzzle of my gun to his ear, gave him motion, for he shook his head, and rolled down the bank dead.

The strange Indian was one of a band, about four days' journey distant, in the buffalo range. The chief's name was Whoowayhur, or Broken Leg. I had never before seen him. He was chief of *Les Gens des Perches* band; and his fame for bravery, and love for the whites, was known far and near. He had come all that distance with peltry to buy a few trifling articles, worth in fact a dollar, perhaps; but to him of more value than the most costly dinner set.

I with my party went home, and my customer, of course with us. Less than half a peck measure would now hold all the corn I had to depend on; and it was worth more to me than the same

measure of golden eagles. I knew the perils of long journeys through the prairies in the winter season. I, therefore, asked all my men if any of them would go with our visitor to get some meat. They would all volunteer; but I said two must remain with me, and four go—to settle among themselves who should go, and who remain. They carried some goods to pay for the meat, and two quarts of corn were roasted and pounded for their journey.

Before daylight the next morning they were on their way, and were to be back in nine long anxious days. The Yankton band, to which Ance belonged, had left in Red Thunder's charge a horse with a dislocated shoulder, and could not recover. The corn was all now but gone; the bitter sweet within a reasonable distance had been devoured, and I brought to poverty and to my wit's end; and yet four days before the men could return.

Hard is the task my poverty compels,
To get my living amid savage yells.

I sent for Red Thunder to consult about our future. His only hope, however, lay in the chance of the coming of the buffalo; but I was not of his way of thinking, and suggested the killing of the horse. But he said no—he dared not, for the Yankton would be very angry. Before I was up the next morning, however, Red Thunder came thumping at my door, and calling at the top of his voice, my Sioux name—"Weeyotehuh! (The Meridian Sun) the horse is dead." The old chap had stuck the horse, and when I got to the spot, he had skinned the animal's head, and part of the neck; and parts of it were soon stuck on sticks roasting, and parts being made into broth in the Indian lodges. I got for my part a piece of the upper portion of the neck; it was eatable, but, in truth, I would have preferred roast lamb. My Indian friends kept cooking and eating without relaxation, night or day, until the old horse, save hoofs and bones, had been consumed.

The nine days for the men's return had now expired, and they came not. On the eleventh day I went six or eight miles, in hopes to meet them, but returned disappointed, and grieved. When within a mile of the house, about dusk, I met with one of those scabby buffaloes, and managed to end his misery; and

reporting my success to Red Thunder, his Indian friends, with knives, tomahawks, and torches, were soon on their way to this lucky Godsend, in their estimation. To partake of such meat, I knew I could not. My last pint of corn was being roasted. I had some apprehensions that my absent men had been killed, which was the least of my fears; but there was greater danger that they had been lost or buried in the snow—particularly the latter; thoughts of such accidents had often occurred to my mind. In any case, if they failed to return with supplies, my only alternative was to write an account of matters and things, and make up my last bed.

On the twelfth day of their absence, I had been straining my eyes with melancholy reflections till about four o'clock in the afternoon, when I retired to the house to smother care and anxiety in smoke. I had not long been at the pipe when a general shout of joy was raised at the Indian camps—"The white men are coming!" I was not slow to see for myself; and here they came, loaded with dried buffalo meat, and the welcome news that Broken Leg with a lot of his young men would bring ample supplies in a few days. This was good news. When, with marks of reproach, I asked them why they had not returned sooner, they told me they had been two and a half days buried in the snow. I could not doubt them, for I was aware that such things happened every winter on these plains.

Not many winters before this, an Indian, with eight white men, saw a storm approaching, and with all haste made for a little clump of trees for shelter. But when within half a mile of the goal, they were compelled by the severity of the storm, to lie down and be covered with the avalanche of snow falling. The wind and drift are so powerful that people cannot face them and breathe. These nine persons remained under snow for three days; but for the Indian, the whites would all have perished. He had been caught before; he kept himself raised to near the surface by packing the snow under him, which also kept him in a cooler atmosphere, so the place where he was, continued dry, though warm. He could, moreover, being near the surface, with only a thin layer of snow over him, discern when the storm had abated.

At the end of the third day, he went to the little bush or wood, made a rousing fire, and cutting a ten feet pole, returned to hunt up and liberate his imprisoned companions. This he accomplished by thrusting the pole at random, until one would seize it, when the Indian would dig him out. He found them all dripping wet; and the wind having rendered the snow firm, he packed each one, as he brought him from his cave, to the fire, otherwise they would have soon frozen, coming out of their warm bath into so chilly an atmosphere. For unless a person thus buried, scrapes the snow from above, and packs it below or under him, the heat of his body melts the snow, and he finds himself in a pool of water.

As promised, at the end of four days Broken Leg arrived, with ten of his young men, loaded with dried meat, pemican, buffalo's bladders filled with marrow, and a few furs. I paid them well, and all were pleased, except one young fellow, who had a wolf skin to trade; but he wanted four times its value, which I would not give. He then drew his robe about him, and leaning on the counter, as is the Indian habit, with intention of tiring me out. I, however, wrapped myself also in a robe, and laughingly lay down on another robe, when my lad, finding he was beaten at his own game, went off in a rage, and I went to trading with the others. Broken Leg was soon informed that Master Wolf was preparing his bow and arrows to shoot me on emerging from the shop. The chief was up instantly, and going from my apartment to the men's room, found Master Wolf ready to bleed me, and took his bow and arrow from him. He then gave him a few thumps over the head, threw his weapons into the fire, and turned him out of the room. On their going away the next morning, I gave the chief a keg of rum; and not expecting it, they were all the more delighted. That was the last I saw of this tribe of *Les Gens des Perches.*

Now we all—Red Thunder[1] and his people included—lived

[1] Lieut. Pike, when on his public mission up the Mississippi, in 1805-1806, did what he could to repress the sale of liquor to the Indians. When at Prairie du Chien, in April, 1806, he thus spoke of Red Thunder: "I was sent for by Red Thunder, chief of the Yanktons, the most savage band of the

luxuriously on roast and boiled meat—rather tough and smoky, to be sure, but the best that the country afforded, or money could buy. March was now close at hand; the wild fowl would then afford me amusement, but first of all I must look after the fur hunters. At length they came, well loaded too, only to stay one night, consequently all of Red Thunder's as well as my own, spare rooms and beds were occupied. They paid me amply. I made a splendid trade, gave them two kegs, each containing three gallons of high wines and six of water. True, they might have gotten the water at their camp; but carrying it on their backs twenty-five miles would mix it better. They made a little speech, hoping I would come again; but my heart might have said; "My face you shall see no more." Pack-making, boat-fixing, bird-shooting, and patiently waiting for the ice to melt out of the streams, were now the objects that occupied my attention.

The Sioux, from about forty miles above the mouth of the river St. Peter's to its sources, and away over the plains, are, or were then, known as the "Upper Sioux;" and those below that to Prairie du Chien, the "Lower Sioux," and were widely different in their character. The latter were more reasonable, and more easily managed, being less savage. This may, perhaps, be attributed to their chiefs having repeatedly, in the early days of Canada, visited Quebec, and got large presents, parchment commissions, and silver medals—one side of which was the King's head, and the British coat of arms on the other, presented to them, through the Indian department, from General Haldimand and Lord Dorchester, and other early Canada governors. In those days the Indians were strong, but yet treated the English with kindness, and placed full confidence in them. Do we reciprocate their friendship and liberality now that we are strong and they weak?

Sioux. He was prepared with the most elegant pipes and robes I ever saw. Shortly after, he declared, 'that white blood had never been shed in the village of the Yanktons, even when rum was permitted; that Mr. Murdoch Cameron arrived in his village last autumn; that he invited him [Cameron], to eat, and gave him corn as a bird; and that he, Cameron, informed him of the prohibition of rum and was the only person who afterwards sold it in the village.' "

L. C. D.

Ice gone, and boat loaded, good-bye forever to the Yankton band of Sioux Indians, now destined to the Mississippi, Prairie du Chien, and Mackinaw. While at Mackinaw this year [1810], in passing through Robert Dickson's room one day, I saw several books on his table, among which were two copies of the Bible. Recollecting the interest my parents appeared to take in this book, I at once concluded I must have one of them. To ask Mr. Dickson for one would be useless; and my good friend Parson Stuart, the old Mohawk missionary, had so impressed upon my mind that stealing would be a breach of one of the commandments—therefore I dared not take it. My conscience was quieted with the suggestion that I could *borrow it*, which I did, faithfully returning it the next year; but like many other things I have left undone, I did not read it with the attention I should have done.

The remainder of my Indian trading years was spent with the Lower Sioux Indians. One season at Lake St. Croix [1810–1811]. This year, the much-respected Sioux Chief Onketah Endutah, or Red Whale, while spending part of the summer [of 1810] with many of his people at Prairie du Chien, lost his only daughter there. He determined to take her remains up to his village, and bury them with those of her relatives—a distance of about two hundred miles, and in the burning hot month of August. He placed the corpse in his canoe, and started, two other families following in their respective canoes. When they had accomplished about half their journey, on the eighth day, they reached Lake Pepin; he landed, and threw the putrid body into the water, saying: "I cannot carry my child's body any farther; but her bones must be buried with her mother and sisters. Will any one help me separate the bones from the decayed and decaying flesh." No one responded. He threw off his covering; and sitting down on the beach, went to work and cleaned the flesh from every bone, throwing the decayed parts into the lake. He then got some grass, tied them up carefully, placed them in his canoe, and renewed his journey. During this operation, as well as occasionally when on his route home, he would sing the death song, accompanied with loud wailings and tears, producing an indescribable mel-

ancholy, and echo from the surrounding hills, well calculated to turn the most joyous heart into sorrow and mourning.

I have much to say about the Red Whale, and his strange story of his origin—an invention by which he acquired the most, if not all, of his popularity over his superstitious followers. He was a great orator as well as successful war-chief, and a friend of the whites.

When he was about twenty-five years of age—so I was informed—he made a feast, and invited the principal men of his tribe, and thus addressed them: "My friends, you all know that as soon as I could use the bow and gun well, I placed myself under a warrior and a medicine man, to learn all they knew; I blackened my face; I fasted many days, and dreamed many dreams. I then followed you on the war-path. Few of you, on our return, made the women and children dance and sing more than I have done"—for coming home with even one scalp, causes days of dancing and rejoicing. Then referring to his trophied head, he added: "You know how I got this hair and these feathers from your enemies' heads. I love the Sioux, and will now tell you where I came from, and how I came one of your people.

"When this world was small, and only a few camps upon it, a long way from here I was born in a land where the people were all black; and, on growing up to manhood, I hated this black meat. My father would not let me travel to see other tribes, so I told him I would die. Mother wanted to keep me; but no—I was unhappy amongst this black people, and I died." It is a fact, that all the Indian tribes I have met with, hate negroes. "I laid there," he continued, "about six hundred years. At last I became weary, so I got up one night, very carefully, for fear of disturbing the old people; for had they heard me, they would not have permitted me to go and travel. It was a good night; the moon was bright; I could only see a little piece of it. I started. No one could hear my wings, nor see my body. In crossing over the great Salt Lake, I got very tired; but I did not like to die in the water, and took courage. I got to a tree where I took a good sleep. After that, I traveled to many places looking out for a good camp where I would be happy; but the

camps I saw were mostly white, with some blacks—I did not like them. At last I got here one day, when the sun had gone down out of sight. Hearing singing and dancing at the Falling Water (St. Anthony Falls), I perched myself on that big oak tree where your people encamp. From my elevated place, I could see through the tops of the lodges all things within as well as without. A war party had just returned with the scalps of their enemies. They were the most merry people I had ever seen, feasting, singing, dancing, and engaged in all kinds of sports. So I concluded to try your way for a while.

"When all was quiet, and the fires burned down, I crept into the lodge of Cut-Thumb, the war-chief, and became by choice a Sioux. Now, my friends, you know my history; and I now tell you, I want to be your war-chief. If you say 'no,' I will soon die, and travel to some other country; but if you say 'yes,' I will lead you on the war-path until my legs get too old and frail to carry me." There was no opposition; he did not leave the lodge a common warrior, but head chief of the tribe.

The first time I saw him, in 1806, he appeared to be about fifty years of age. I think, in 1807,[1] Lieut. Pike, of the American army, afterwards Gen. Pike of Little York fame, was on his way to discover the source of the Mississippi. He slept for the night on an island, immediately opposite the mouth of the St. Peter's. It was late in November. The Red Whale, with part of his band, was encamped on the island at the time. An awful storm of wind, snow, hail, and rain, came up, with thunder and lightning. The storm had abated in the morning, and Lieut. Pike missed his flag. After the usual military invitation, the man who was on sentry at the time was pinioned to be flogged. Red Whale, hearing a rumpus in the camp, went up to see what it was all about. He found the man tied to a tree, ready to be scored, and the chief was told by the American commander that the man had lost the flag, and must be flogged.

---

[1] Capt. Anderson is somewhat at fault as to the date when Lieut. Pike camped on the island at the mouth of the St. Peter's. According to Pike's *Travels*, p. 24, it was Sept. 21, 1805; but nothing is related by the Lieutenant as to the incident of the Red Whale. L. C. D.

Red Whale said "no," and added: "I'll send my young men for it, as it must have caught in the brush." But Lieut. Pike persisted in his determination to punish the negligent soldier. Red Whale drew his knife, and said: "I will stick the first one that strips that soldier." The "stars and stripes" were brought forward, the man released; and Red Whale lectured the lieutenant for having been himself the cause of the flag's loss. "You knew," said he to Pike, "that it was a black night; we could not see the length of my arrow. Any one might have taken it away. You knew the wind was strong enough to tear it to pieces, and you should have taken it into your tent."

With this cutting reproof, Red Whale thought all was settled, and he went to his camp; but soon another rumpus was heard in the American encampment, and he ran there with all haste. He found the man again tied to the tree, ready for the nine tails. "I told you," said Red Whale, "not to hurt this man. You have got your flag. What more has he done?" "Nothing," was the reply, "but he must be punished." "I say no," retorted the Sioux chief; "white man's blood shall not stain my land—unloose him." "No," replied Pike, "he must be flogged." "I say he must not," said Red Whale, and gave the shrill war whoop. A portion of his warriors were quickly at his side, whom he ordered to cut the string, and let the soldier go. It was soon done, and Red Whale turning to the officer, said:

"Young man! my name is Onketah-Endutah. I know all that happens for many a day's journey around me. It was your fault, and not the soldier's, that your flag floated down the river. Now I warn you, if you hurt this man during the winter, I will make a hole in your coat when you come back in the spring. Go now; you may tell all the Sioux you meet, that Red Whale desires them to be kind to you and your soldiers, and give you plenty to eat; but as I have warned you, beware of hurting that man's back."

The Lower Sioux at this time consisted of six bands, to wit: That of Waubeshaw, or The Leaf, the most respected, as he had been twice to Quebec, where he had received medals, flags and other presents, which the Sioux remembered with gratitude to this

day. Their offspring are at this moment as fond of and loyal to the British government as their ancestors were. Whoo-pah-Endutah,[1] or Red Wing,[2] who was famed for foretelling events, was at the head of one of the bands; Red Whale another; Shockope, or The Six, another; Kahhaigegad, or Little Crow, and Thunder the remaining two bands. Red Thunder, in fact was not considered as fixedly attached to any particular band or locality; but his was a roving, friendly band, welcome any and everywhere.

About the year 1810, whether from a prospect of war, or what, I know not, the Americans would not permit British traders, though we were willing to pay the duties on them as usual, to carry goods into the Indian country within the territory of the United States. This was bad news. The Montreal merchants had landed their goods, as formerly, at the island of St. Joseph, a British garrisoned outpost, forty-five miles distant from Mackinaw; and Indian traders were waiting for their outfits, without which the Indians would be great sufferers. All arguments failed; "Jonathan" would not permit us to enter his territory.

After a brief consultation, eight of us [in the autumn of 1810], formed a league or partnership, with the intention of running the blockade, or sinking our all in the adventure. The parties to this arrangement were: Robert Dickson of Queenstown, U. C., head man; Allen Wilmot, T. G. Anderson, Jacob Franks, Joseph Rolette, John Lawe, James and George Aird, of Prairie du Chien. Seven well-filled boats, containing, altogether, about £10,000 worth of goods, were in a few days in readiness, with about one hundred guns, all loaded and distributed conveniently on the boats for ready use, in case of an attack by American soldiers from the Mackinaw garrison. We started early in the morning,

---

[1] Endutah, red—whoopah, wing; onketah, whale, and endutah, red; Wackhaw-thunder—endutah, red; hence Red Wing, Red Whale, and Red Thunder. L. C. D.

[2] Pike in his *Travels*, p. 23, mentions Red Wing, in September 1805, as "the second war-chief in the nation. He made me a speech, and presented a pipe, pouch and buffalo skin. He appeared to be a man of sense, and promised to accompany me to St. Peter's: he saluted me, and had it returned. I made him a small present." L. C. D.

and, about four o'clock in the afternoon, came in sight of the dreaded fort, nine miles in front of us. Prudence directed the shoving of our boats into the rushes, and await the night. We hailed an Indian passing, and impressed him as our guide or pilot. In a straight line it was fifteen miles, which would require us to pass immediately under the garrison's guns, and beneath the high bank, so as to be out of reach of the revenue officer; but, to be on the safe side we took the deep bay route on the northern side of the island—increasing our night's work five miles, no trifling matter for people in a hurry.

About day-light it blew hard, a heavy sea arose, and my boat sprang a leak. Had [not] the guard kept a good look-out, we would have been discovered; but another and a strong pull took us out of view around Point St. Ignace, where we repaired my boat, boxed up the guns, and proceeded fearlessly on our journey. At Green Bay we spent two days giving Mr. Jacob Franks and Mr. John Lawe their outfits of goods. Mr. Dickson and the two Airds went above the Falls of St. Anthony for their trading grounds; Mr. Wilmot, second in command of the combination, chose for himself Rolette and Anderson to winter on the Island where Red Whale prevented Lieutenant Pike from whipping one of his soldiers. Wilmot and Rolette had never wintered with the Sioux before, and thought it would be safer to have the protection of a fort for a trading-post; and though a novel notion in this part of the country, it must be done. It nearly cost me my life. The necessary stores and dwellings forming three sides of a square, and stout oak pickets the other.

This year, following the custom of the country, which I had hitherto resisted, I took to live with me a little half-breed. When the Indians came out from their winter hunting grounds in spring, they formed about three hundred lodges. They encamped immediately about the fort; and after the trading was over, the usual bonus of high wines was issued to them. This was done in the morning; and, immediately after, our head man (Wilmot) started to visit another band of Indians, taking with him twelve out of our full strength—sixteen in all; thus leaving me with two white men and a negro, to meet the storm which

generally took place at the close of these drunken carousals, when they were particularly thirsty, and their supply was cut off.

All were jolly in the camp during the day, dancing, singing, and hair-pulling prevailed; and sometimes an attempt at stabbing. One poor fellow was stabbed over the right eye, following the skull around till it reached the left ear. An old man had his skull fractured by a heavy stroke from a fire-brand. On sobering off next morning, and fearing the fracture would result in his loss of hearing, as had been the case with his brother before him; and firm in the conviction that after his departure, he should join his brother in the land of happy spirits, he used a stiff straw, probing the wound and preventing all chance of healing and recovery, and soon died.

About twelve o'clock at night, the supply of grog became scanty. The empty kegs had been heated over the fire, and rinsed till even the smell of liquor was no longer perceptible; and to obtain more of the fiery beverage, one reckless fellow, with gun in hand, scaled our fortification, while the four guardsmen were sleeping in supposed security. The interpreter slept in a room, the door of which opened into the yard; and my room was adjoining. The noise of the drunken Indians outside had awakened him; and he called to me, saying there was an Indian in the yard with his gun. I threw on my clothes as quickly as I could; got to the door, with my hand on the latch, standing with my full front to the door. The interpreter now said something to me which I did not understand; and on turning to ask an explanation, the Indian fired, the ball passing through the door at the very spot where I had just been standing. The concussion nearly knocked me down. I looked on the floor, and felt of my body, but found no blood. I then rushed out, and caught the fellow by the hair before he had finished reloading his gun for a second shot. I threw him on his back before he had time to think of what was transpiring, and drew him inside, placing him in charge of the negro. All this did not consume five minutes, including my merciful preservation, through God's providential care of me.

Mr. Rolette, the third white man, pretended that he did not

hear the firing, and when I knocked at his door, and bid him get ready for a fight, he would not move until I threatened to break into his room; and, in loading his gun, he so shook with fear, that he broke his ram-rod. When we were all ready, I took the interpreter to the pickets, and had him call to the Indians, and say, that they need not send away their women and children, as they commenced doing, for we did not wish to kill *them*, but let the warriors to come on, if they desired to do so.

In an instant, the whole Indian camp was in motion, women screaming, children crying, dogs howling. Some of the Indians were in search of their guns, which their women had hid away before the spree began, lest in their drunken orgies they might kill one another. Every few minutes, I called out to them, inquiring if the women and children were gone, and if the warriors were ready for the fray. At length I discerned some one very cautiously approaching the fort; and on challenging him as to who he was, and what he wanted? He replied: "I am Red Whale; let me in. I want to take care of the whites." This was good news. I knew we were safe under his protection. He insisted on my releasing my prisoner, which I did, and all became quiet.

By ten o'clock the next morning, the would-be murderer invited all to a feast. On the receipt of his invitation, we all concluded that our end had come, and my companions were indisposed for the breakfast tendered. But we must show pluck; so placing my two pistols in my belt, I led the way; and, to our great relief, on reaching the door at the lodge, the pipe of peace was presented to us, which was a confession and atonement for the culprit's drunken folly. I always found, that to be truthful, honest and unflinching, where justice was demanded, invariably gained respect and confidence with all Indian tribes.

In two days the Indians were all gone, Mr. Wilmot and party had returned, our packs were made up, and our friend Dickson, from above the St. Anthony Falls, had arrived. A council of the partners was held, at which it was determined, as a quantity of goods remained over, to carry on a summer's trade for deer skins, and I was requested to take charge of the post, and conduct the

trade. I consented to do so, on condition of their leaving with me one of the boats, an interpreter, and four men. This was acceded to and I was left in sole charge of the Sioux trade.

In case this narrative should fall into the hands of any French cooks, which is not very likely, I must enlighten him touching the mode in which we prepared a Christmas dinner in Onketah Endutah's dominions, in the year 1811. Our stock of wild fowl, which our fall sport had laid in, was consumed. The Indians, on whom we had depended for venison, were a great distance from us; and we had, for some time, been feasting on dried and smoked muskrats, a bale of which *savory* meat had been secured from the Indian autumnal hunting season. Christmas day had arrived; and, as on former festival days, I was minded to prepare something new for myself and friends to eat, and to talk about for a while.

So, immediately after breakfast, I called my servant, and told him we intended to have a "sea pie" for dinner; and that it must be made under my own inspection, as I wanted it particularly nice. "So," said I, "go and wash your hands very clean, and bring Red Whale's large wooden bowl full of flour, to be made into a paste." That being done, and set by the fire to raise, I directed that six of the fattest muskrats that could be found in the bale be brought; cut off the head, and hairy part of the feet, throwing them away. Divide each muskrat into six parts, and wash them in warm water. Then put into a piece of deer skin a dozen grains of pepper, and powder it, by pounding, as fine as snuff, and pulverize some salt also.

Is the bake-kettle clean? "Yes, sir," replied the servant, "I baked bread in it yesterday." "All right," said I; "now roll out some paste the size of the bake-kettle not more than half an inch thick; grease the bottom of the kettle with that lump of tallow; fit the paste to the bottom of the dish. Then lay on the paste a layer of muskrat meat; pepper and salt it; then some strips of paste over the meat, and so alternate the courses till the kettle is nearly full." After filling the dish with water, covering it tight with plenty of live coals on the top, it was left to cook by a slow fire. But pepper and salt did not save it, nor savory

crust convert muskrat into relishable food. On opening the pie, so sickening was the effluvia emanating from it, that all were glad to rush to the door for fresh air. Nor have I ever since voted in favor of smoked muskrat pies.

Fishing and shooting were now out of season, Indians were away at their summer villages, and time began to hang heavily on my hands. No books, no news from the outside world, no exchange of ideas with my fellow men, except an occasional visit from some old chief, who, pleased to find me amused with his superstitions and long-tailed stories of the pre-Adamite period, only interesting from the dreams and vagaries of his forefathers, would sit, drink tea, smoke, and talk by the hour.

To kill time, I planted a few potatoes and some corn around the fort, and they produced marvelous crops, on which I and my men made marvelous meals. The Indians have capacious stomachs. One old fellow offered a wager that he could eat at one sitting sixty of the largest potatoes I could produce, and would have weighed at least thirty pounds; but, knowing that he had lately eaten a full grown ground-hog, and drank a pint of oil to keep it down, I declined the bet.

The Indians were now collecting for their summer's hunt on the Upper Mississippi, and I prepared to accompany them, to encourage their hunting; but how to get my boat over St. Anthony's Falls was a serious consideration. I, however, set the men to work to make four wheels, with a temporary rigging, not having tools to do more. As the Indians were going in the direction of their Chippewa enemies, I took with me a pound swivel, in case of accidents. On reaching the falls, I got my boat on the truck, but a break-down soon followed. My hunters turned out with willing hands, and the boat was soon over.

From this point, a narrow fringe of timber shades the river above. A few miles onward, Rum River, from the east, and a few miles farther, Crow River, from the west, both powerful tributaries, largely swell the Mississippi. Above them, the river narrows gradually, as far as I went, until it becomes a small stream of eighty or one hundred yards wide. In this fringe of timber the deer retire from the scorching sun of summer; and if

the mosquitoes are troublesome, the pestered animals plunge into the river.

Our first day's hunt was not very successful. It was confined to one side of the stream, with our camp at Crow River. The next and succeeding days, we were on both sides, and the shots were frequent. The hunters were in their canoes, gaily and leisurely paddling and chatting, while the children were squalling and yelling lustily—occasionally stopping to pick berries—while the hunters were keeping abreast of the navigators, outside the wood, and shooting the deer as the noisy paddlers frightened them from their coverts.

We always laid by every third day to stretch and dry the skins. The meat of the slaughtered deer was very little cared for; I do not believe that more than one in ten of those killed was taken from the spot where they were skinned. On these resting days, the old trappers would go up quietly to the place indicated for the next two days' journey, and set their traps for beaver, otter, muskrats, etc., which would be collected as we journeyed on for the next ensuing two days.

On one occasion the hunters had nearly all reached the place of rendezvous before I did. On arriving there my attention was drawn to a large group of men, women and children at a short distance away; and on reaching the spot, I saw a stout woman lying on her back, with a leather strap drawn tight about her neck, and she black in the face. Many of the by-standers were making jocular remarks at the folly of taking so slender a cord "to hang so *big a meat* to." I cut the strap, and dashed water in her face, and she revived; when she jawed me roundly for bringing her back to her cruel sister. On inquiry, I found that she and her elder sister were married to a fellow called "Cut Thumb;" and, in a fit of jealousy, the elder had struck the younger with a hoe. Out of revenge and spite to her rival and husband, she found and climbed a convenient tree, to a limb of which she fastened one end of a strap, and the other to her neck, and jumped off; but as many of the sight-seers unfeelingly said, the leather was *unfortunately* not strong enough.

At length our Sioux hunters had reached the borders of their

Chippewa enemies, and consequently alarms were frequently, though falsely, reported. The scouts, who hunted no longer abreast of the navigators, but took an early morning start in advance of the canoes. At length a trap had been lost; and the only possible way of accounting for it was, that it had been stolen by their thieving enemies.

We had now reached a sandy plain, a beautiful spot for our resting day. The war-chief, who had now command of the expedition, had blackened his face and sung his war song in expectation of an attack from the Chippewas the next morning. He increased the number of scouts, directing them not to fire a shot, and to exercise every care in discovering traces of the enemy. About four o'clock the scouts came in, reporting having heard and seen all sorts of imaginable things their superstitious fancies could invent—foot-prints, gun reports, indications where fire had been made, the glistening from looking-glasses—for young Indian dandies often carry small looking-glasses attached to their belts, which, in the sun, reflect the glaring light a great distance. Other signs were also reported—buffalo, deer, ducks, geese, etc., going in all directions, as if escaping from the hunter, and *smelling* the enemy.

Not one word of any of these reports was true. It, however, accorded with our General Cut-Thumb's prediction, that the enemy were at hand. A council of war was forthwith called, by which it was concluded that we had been discovered by the Chippewas, and they would be upon us during the night. The warriors were directed to sharpen their knives, clean their guns, and have everything in readiness for battle. The women were ordered to extinguish the fires, and carry their children back to the bush; and the old and infirm to guard the lodges. The excitement was too great for me to describe; it was, however, confined to the women and children, for the warriors were quietly preparing their weapons for great slaughter.

At length Cut-Thumb requested me to do him the favor to join him in a raid he was about to make on the terrible Chippewas and take my artillery with me. To this I readily consented on condition that he would provide transportation for my gun, which

he promised. I was told that we were immediately to proceed about a mile up the river, to a place where we could not fail to annihilate the expected war party. My gun having been well swabbed out, and charged with twenty-five fusil balls, and a novel kind of port-fire constructed of dry cedar bark, crushed fine, and rubbed with a coat of tallow—the construction of which occupied me, perhaps, five minutes. Meanwhile, I was reminded by my chief every ten seconds, that delays were dangerous.

All, at length, being ready, one of my gunners shouldered my cannon, the other its carriage—they were very Sampsons; and all on tip-toe marched off for the selected battle-ground—"conquer or die," and "no quarters," were our mottoes. The artillery commander had neither paint nor feathers; but his braves were dressed in their best, so that in the event of the enemy taking one of their scalps, the Chippewa women might say: "What a handsome fellow he must have been!"

When the words "halt! prepare for action" were whispered, I found myself, gunners, port-fire, all, on the edge of a perpendicular sand-bank, which terminated at the water's beach, sixty feet below; and, immediately opposite, an island, which, at this season of the year contracted the stream to about thirty yards wide, the main channel being on our side. It was now getting dark, and I had much difficulty in adjusting the Royal Artillery, so as to fire a perdendicular shot downward to destroy the expected fleet of Chippewa canoes.

The plan of attack was so arranged that on the canoes arriving within common range, I was to discharge my one pound artillery, which, it was supposed, would throw the fleet into confusion, when the general discharge of small arms would cause many to fall, and throw the enemy into still further dismay. The Sioux braves would jump, roll or tumble down the hill, plunge into the grand old Father of Waters, and stab, tomahawk or drown every Chippewa son of them who should have the temerity to invade the country of the Waubeshas, the Red Whales, and the Cut-Thumbs. The dry grass was to be fired, to throw light on the massacre, and to distinguish friend from foe. I was to remain on the bank, and witness the extreme horrors of Indian war, or to

retire to the woods, should I desire to avoid the murderous scene.

All was "hush," and if any one wished to smoke, he must retire to the rear, and hide the light of his pipe. All was extreme anxiety. At length the supposed paddling was heard at a distance, and as it became more distinct—I confess I fully believed the noise proceeded from the action of paddles—the braves threw off every incumbrance of dress, except a well-secured belt around the waist, in which to carry the carnage-knife and tomahawk. The critical moment had now arrived; one of the supposed canoes had reached the boundary. But one of the braves who had stealthily gone down to the beach to appropriate to himself the first scalp, and the earliest glory, yelled out—"*Ska-teck!*" the Sioux word for pelican; and up flew a hundred or more affrighted pelicans, that had been innocently swimming down the river, on a leisure foray against little fishes. Thus was suddenly and ludicrously brought to a termination my first and bloodless war adventure.

Cut-Thumb's ambition was only increased by this disappointment. He dreamed dreams which were predictions of great success, and two days after we had reaped our pelican glories, he blackened his face, gave the war-whoop, and sang his war-song. All the braves danced the war-dance around him. Wishing to see all of their folly, I accepted the invitation courteously tendered me to join the party. They were now to invade the enemy's country, and glorious success would be the certain result. At daylight the next morning, all were astir, and scouts sent in advance, and by ten o'clock, the remaining braves were in their canoes, and under way. The war-like Cut-Thumb was standing in his canoe, singing of the prowess and glories of the Sioux, and invoking his familiar spirit to be with them, and crown their adventure with bountiful success.

Our progress was very slow, and made with studied precaution. When we had proceeded five or six miles, we arrived at a place appointed to arrange the general's staff. It was an important appendage to a grand army. It consisted of two cooks or messengers—it would, perhaps, be more in military parlance to call them

aids-de-camp. A band of music, too, must needs be provided. It consisted of a bass-drum, improvised from an empty nine gallon keg, one head out, and a deer-skin tightly drawn over it, with a small wooden hammer for a drum-stick; a tambourine, and two dried gourds, partly filled with pebbles; together with a variety of rattles of minor importance. These made up the band. A little concert was given in the evening to test the ability of the performers. This ended the first day's progress of the campaign. Sentries being posted, each one, wrapped in his blanket, lay down on the soft grass, covered by a deer-skin, and bespangled with brilliant stars, to make the most of a short night.

Daylight next morning brought our pickets to camp, when pipes were cleaned out, and the first smoke of the new-born day went round. Teeth were taxed to their uttermost to munch the stone-hard dried venison; after which we were, scouts and all, at our respective posts, *en route* for our anxiously looked-for field of battle. The taking of a single scalp would have crowned the whole party with lasting honor, in their estimation. We went forward with muffled paddles, carefully scrutinizing every noise, the course of every deer or bird, which might indicate an approaching foe; and withal, carefully weighing the frequent reports, however improbable, of the principal scouts.

About noon we were called to halt, to have a *big war-dance*. On landing, and stepping forward a few yards from the canoes, I found myself in a beautiful patch of prairie-land, forming a circle of forty paces in diameter, as regular as if drawn by a compass. It was enclosed by thick shrubbery, with here and there a tall balsam, and other evergreens. Nature had provided a splendid locality—eminently fitted for a social, enjoyable picnic, where boys and girls could romp, and hide and go-seek—dance, eat and grow fat. But it was not to be so honored now. On the contrary, Old Nick himself was to be invoked, and the most beastly ceremony to be performed I ever witnessed.

After all were landed from their canoes, a party of five or six were dispatched to the bush for a pole, while the others were employed in removing all impediments from within the circle. The bushmen soon returned with a balsam pole, about forty feet long,

denuded of its limbs and bark, except within about four feet of the top, which was left in its natural state. This pole was planted in the center of the amphitheatre. Up to this time, all conversation was carried on in an undertone, and all noise avoided as much as possible; but this restriction was, I thought, now inconsistently removed, so that all were at full liberty to yell to the utmost capacity of their lungs, and to smoke to their heart's content, without restraint or fear of being *smelt* by an unseen enemy, and thus betraying their presence.

General Cut-Thumb and his band were seated in the shade, tuning their instruments, and trying their disharmony, while the braves were dressing and primping for the dance. Finally the big drum gave its warning voice of *tum tum-tum,* while the minor rattles joined in the rude chorus. Now the living actors, with deafening yells, frightful threats, and inhuman contortions commenced their circuitous jumping dance. A spectator was kindly invited to take a seat out of the way, and near the music. Scarcely fifteen minutes had elapsed of this yelling gesticulation fandango, when an innocent dog attempted to run across this consecrated ground; but was suddenly arrested in his desecrating career, by being pierced at mid-circle by half a dozen arrows. His body was instantly removed outside the dance-ground, ripped open, the pluck taken out, and hung on a stake, about five feet high, which had been planted near the balsam pole.

The dance was now resumed, and sickening to relate, that many of the dancers in their rounds, would step up and take a bite out of this bleeding pluck, which they would either swallow themselves, or transfer it from their teeth to Cut-Thumb's mouth, who, being so amply fed with so delicious a repast, soon became so sick, that he had to retire from the concert, and the scene changed.

They were to fire at the upper end of the pole, above where the peeled and unpeeled parts met. He whose shot would bring the green branches to the ground would take the first scalp. All this beastly humbug lasted about four hours. Then we again embarked, scouts were sent out, and *hush* was the word, which seemed useless after the recent noisy carousal. At dusk our canoes were drawn into the grass skirting the shore, and the whole

party except the out-pickets, were snugly ensconced in a shrubbery thicket.

I had gotten a sufficient insight into their mode of warfare, and was completely disgusted with their savage performances. We were now about thirty miles from our camp. So next morning, I asked Cut-Thumb for a small canoe, which they could well spare, which he readily turned over to me. The weather was fine, and with a strong, smooth current, I made rapid progress, and might have shot several deer that were in the water to escape from the flies and gnats; but it would have been wanton cruelty, as I could not carry them with me. I reached my camp about four o'clock, my men rejoicing to see that I had not lost *my hair.*

On the next day, I began packing and preparing for my return home, as there was no more prospect of further hunting, and the war-party was not expected back for six or eight days. But, to my astonishment, Cut-Thumb and his party hove in sight, singing their triumphant song of having been six days on the war-path without losing so much as a solitary scalp. In the evening, a dance—called a ball—was given in celebration of the proud and happy event. Early the next morning all was bustle; and by five o'clock, my boats and all were over the portage, and below the Falls of St. Anthony.

Here I had another proof of the care of a blessed Providence over me. I had not noticed my cannon since the ever-to-be-remembered "pelican scare." It had been resting, with its twenty-five ball charge, and wishing to notify my men whom I had left at the fort, I extracted the balls, primed it anew, and placed a piece of punk wood, lighted on one side, so that it would not ignite the powder until I had reached a safe distance away. The breeze, however, hastened the punk-burning, and the gun went off, bursting and scattering it so that one fragment only was ever found, and that close to my feet. This happened in the midst of a group of at least three hundred souls, and not one hurt. I thought in extracting the balls, some of the paper wadding must have remained in the gun, which caused the mishap.

I was well-tired of Indian war humbug, and deer slaughtering. It appeared, that Cut-Thumb, in his dreams, pretended to have

found out that the little Englishman—Weyotehun, the Meridian Sun—became, in some way, aware of danger ahead, which caused him to take his departure; and the war-party became so impressed with this foolish idea, that they hurriedly jumped into their canoes, and returned to Weyotehun and his big gun. I must do the Sioux the justice to say, that on the whole, they were the most cleanly—had the best regulations as a tribe, though, like most others, governed by superstition—were the swiftest pedestrians—the best bow-and-arrow men—the most enormous eaters at their feasts, yet could abstain longer without food, than any of the numerous tribes I have met.

I at length reached home after four weeks sporting, glad of the change, and happy to rid myself of the many insects which nip so sharply in Indian camps. The remaining summer days of perfect idleness in my isolated situation, were long and tedious, varied only by accompanying a party of two canoes of hunters in search of buffaloes at the Great Stony Lake, the source of the river St. Peter's. When, on the fourth day within eight or ten miles of our destination, we could hear the roar of the bulls, like the rumbling of distant thunder; and when within a mile of it, we could see thousands of them swimming about in the water. In fact, the whole lake was literally full of huge buffaloes, cooling themselves. The wind being favorable—*from*, not *towards* them—we went on quietly until we reached a clump of ten or fifteen acres of timber, where it was our intention to camp. At length my guide drew my attention to the bush, which was also full of them.

He was the only hunter with us; I wanted to fire, but he shook his head as a veto on my wishes. Wrapped in a buffalo robe, he got quietly out of the canoe, passed unheeded through the crowd to the edge of the prairie land, about fifty yards, and immediately shot one. At this signal, I was at once in the bush among the host but they were so frightened, running, jumping and bunting, that I was so confused that I could not take aim at any one in particular, so let fly at the flock, to no purpose. Within fifteen minutes, my guide had three fat cows lying at his feet. When I reached the prairie, the whole scene before us was one black, living,

undulating, moving mass—tens of thousands of heavy, powerful beasts were fleeing from their hated enemies. But all had been put under Adam's control. I had not had a fair shot. In due time we returned home.

The wild fowl season came, and I practiced on them until the ice shut them off, and they disappeared; then followed a few days of muskrat hunting, when winter shut me in. Not a book or paper of any kind to beguile and shorten the tedium of the season; a little trapping, and one snow-shoe trip of sixty miles to visit my nearest neighbor; then making oars and paddles to wear off the winter. Finally the Indian hunters came in, trade was soon over; my little half-breed took off my little boy and girl to her friends, and I never saw her again. My boat was repaired, and about the twentieth of March, 1814, I left the river St. Peter's, with full intent to return to the trade, not, of course, knowing what a kind Providence had in store for me.

Arriving at Prairie du Chien, I, as usual, deposited such articles as I would require for the next winter's trade; and after feasting eight or ten days at my friend, Mons. Brisbois', on thickened milk and sugar, I started for Mackinaw. It being early in the season, and hard work for the men to stem the strong current of the Ouisconsin River, I permitted them to go on leisurely, stopping along the sand banks to collect turtles' eggs, which were excellent eating, and to kill rattlesnakes, some of which were very beautiful to behold—at a respectful distance—being about four feet long, with skin of a bright golden color, interspersed with ebony black heart-shaped spots.

But the eating of turtle's eggs was, after a few days, brought to a sudden termination. These eggs are somewhat less in size than a pigeon's. My cook brought me, as usual, a dozen for breakfast. On opening the first one, I observed something coiled in it, like a black hair; but how a hair could get inside of an egg, I could not make out. So I summoned the men to examine the phenomenon. They at once called out, "a snake." I was not aware till then that turtles' and rattlesnakes' eggs were quite similar, and that they both made their deposits in the sand, for the warmth of the sun to hatch; nor did I know how many

young snakes I may have eaten. We had collected of the mixed kinds, and eaten at least a peck a day for the last five days, and I now regretted the discovery, for they were very good. But our stomachs revolted against them for further indulgence.

I spent a few days at Green Bay, with my friend, John Lawe. In short, I so dawdled away my time that nearly all the traders had arrived, and I did not reach Mackinaw until about the tenth of June. I made a splendid return: three hundred and thirty buffalo robes, and ten packs of beaver and other furs and peltries. For the robes I was offered, by the commanding officer of the fort, ten dollars each; but I had received a circular from my equipper in Montreal, Touissant Portier, advising me not to sell before his arrival, as he would give the highest market price.

The garrison at Mackinaw was commanded by Lieut. Col. Robert McDouall,[1] of the Glengaries, with detachments of the Royal Veterans, the Eighty-first and Newfoundland regiments, and a sergeant's command of the Royal Artillery. Being a poor Indian trader, it was, of course, not my business to seek acquaintance with such great men as army officers. However, before the end of a week after my arrival, I was roused up one morning by a gentleman, who informed me that two men in a little bark canoe had just arrived express from Prairie du Chien, with the information that three boat loads of American soldiers had arrived there, and were building a fort at that place.

I jumped up, exclaiming, "We must go and take the fort." I dressed, and, on reaching the street, I found all astir, and alive to my views. I said: "All those who are willing to go, give me your names." By sundown, I had more than eighty volunteers, all traders' clerks and *engagés*, save one, who had large interests at stake on the Mississippi. It is true our enterprise appeared unwise, and very doubtful of success, for our private means were

[1] McDouall was a Scotsman, entered the British army in 1796, became a lieutenant the following year, a captain in 1804, a major, June 24th, 1813; a lieut.-col., July 29th, 1813; a colonel in 1830; and a major-general in 1841. He sucessfully defended Fort Mackinaw, Aug. 4, 1814, when attacked by Col. Croghan and Maj. Holmes. He died at Stranrawer, Scotland, Nov. 15th, 1848. L. C. D.

too limited for a big job of this kind. We had no stores of any description for such an undertaking—no boats, provisions, arms, nor ammunition.

When Col. McDouall, in the course of the day, became aware of my success, he was much pleased, and offered me any military stores he could spare from his scanty stock. This good news inspired our ambition. I was made a captain, mounted a red coat, mustered a couple of epaulettes and an old rusty sword, with a red cock feather adorning my round hat. I was at once a captain of pompous dimensions, and lucky it was for Napoleon and his hosts, that they were beyond the reach of Anderson's Mississippi Volunteers.

I was an entire stranger to the commandant, and it would not have been soldier-like in him to have entrusted valuable military stores to a man without credentials. So the command of the expedition was placed nominally under a volunteer officer from Lower Canada, Lieut. Col. McKay, whose entire knowledge of war matters consisted of his predilection for rum. Well, the island of Mackinaw was, in fact, under blockade, and in daily expectation of a formidable attack. It would, therefore, have been unwise in the Commandant to have granted us very many supplies from his limited stores; but knowing the vast importance of securing the services of the northwestern tribes, and witnessing also the devoted enthusiasm of a jolly band of Canadian voyageurs, embodied in so short a time—and that, too, by an old volunteer of the Revolutionary War, in defense of their country, inspired him with confidence in us, and we were joyfully mustered into service as a part of his command.

Col. McDouall assigned three gun-boats for our use—open vessels which had been constructed at Nottawasawgun the winter before; one having a platform near the prow for a gun. A brass three-pounder, and such other stores as he could prudently spare, also one artillery man for a bombardier, and a worn-out soldier from the veteran battalion. Finally we were ready, and started, about the twentieth of June, 1814, on our expedition against Prairie du Chien, with many a cheer, and hearty wish, for our success. We made all haste to get out of the reach of the expected enemies' fleet from below. At Green Bay some of the

Menomonee tribe volunteered, and following us in their canoes, joined us at Winnebago Lake. In fact, when we reached Prairie du Chien, about the twentieth of July,[1] we had a host of followers of all nations, ages and sexes.

We reached there about noon, and pitched our camp at a convenient place; and I went immediately with a flag of truce, demanding their surrender. This they refused to do. I noticed that they had built houses, and fenced them in with strong oak pickets, ten feet high, with two substantial block-houses, with *chevaux-de-frise*, and two gun-boats at anchor near by. On my return to camp, we opened fire on the fort, but to little effect upon their earthed-oak pickets. Their six-pound shot, because of their bad powder, did not reach our camp. Meanwhile, under shelter of the village buildings, the Indians kept up a constant firing at the fort, cutting down their flag, and wounding two of their men through the port-holes. Two of our Indians were also wounded, but slightly. Thus ended the first day.

The next morning, we reopened our fire upon the fort. Our shots hit them, but they did not return the fire. So I ordered the bombardier to run his gun up, and attack the gun-boats. Only one returned the fire, the [other] being empty. They gave shot for shot merrily. At length my gunner cried out: "For God's sake, come and help me!" I ran to him and found all his men had left him, and I said, "what can I do?" "Take the trail of the gun, please, and enable me to lay it." he replied. The next shot from the boat rolled in between the wheels of our gun, being a three-pound shot, having taken aim, saying "Will you return us this ball, sir?" "Yes," we replied; and loading our gun with it, shot it off, and with it cut off their gunners' two legs. This shut them up; they cut cable, and I ran to camp, ordering our gun-boats ready to follow and capture their vessel, as it had all their valuable stores on board.

But our commander, Col. McKay, rose from his snooze[2] came

[1] It was Sunday, July 17th. L. C. D.

[2] Capt. Anderson's family are indignant that history should give the credit of the capture of Prairie du Chien to Col. McKay, when, as they assert, he was drunk all the time of the fight; and Capt. Anderson's narrative pretty evidently conveys the same idea. L. C. D.

along rubbing his eyes, peremptorily ordering me to desist. One word from me would have caused mutiny. The American boat turned a point about a mile below, and landed to stop leakage, and prevent their sinking.

Our cannon shot were now nearly all gone. So I got a quantity of lead from the village, and with a couple of brick made a mould, and cast a number of three-pound leaden balls. Meanwhile the Indians, were bringing in balls which the Americans had by their short shots, scattered about the prairie without effect. Our stores of provisions were getting low, our ammunition exhausted, but the fort and its contents we came to take, and must have them.

At daylight the next morning, our gun was within one hundred and fifty yards of the pickets, with a small fire making an iron shot red hot. When they found themselves in a fair way to be burnt out, they surrendered. We took sixty-five prisoners, several iron guns, a small quantity of pork, flour, etc., together with a quantity of whisky. The casks containing the liquor, I stove in, fearing the Indians might get it, as they were thirsting for the blood of their enemies, and required some tact to keep their hands off from the American prisoners. We could not trust any of them inside the fort. The American empty boat was fitted up, and next morning at daylight, the prisoners were on their way to St. Louis, on parole; escorted by one of our lieutenants, [Brisbois] for a short distance.

Now began the novel and much needed instruction as to guard-mounting, etc. The bombardier, and the old veteran were the only two persons in the whole batch that had any correct knowledge of the science of war. Our commander, an old North Western, *boiling inside,* and roasting outside, for the thermometer stood at ninety-eight in the shade, constantly cursing and blaspheming all above and below, now took a bark canoe, with four men, and after giving his own name—McKay—to the fort, and transferring the command to me, took his leave to the joy of all concerned.

I am now, on a smaller scale, a Wellington—commanding all around me. Some of the Indians in this quarter had been induced by exaggerated stories from the enemy, to surrender the Royal George medals which they had received, with other

tokens of friendship, from General Haldimand, Lord Dorchester, and other prominent commanders in the early days of Quebec, for those of the American eagle. However, they soon returned to their old flag, with the exception of one Sioux Chief, Hoopah-Endutah, or Red Wing, who was the head of a large band, and a numerous family connection. He was famed, too, as a great prognosticator. After my repeatedly pressing the subject, he came to me one morning; and after the usual smoke, he took my hand. Then standing up, he addressed me by my Sioux name, saying:

"Weyotehuh, or Meridian Sun, I have had another dream. You know all the blood in my heart is English; but I will not now fight the Big Knives (Americans). I have given to you my band, and my children. They, with all the other Indians, are your soldiers, and will fight for you; but Red Wing will not raise his war-club. I saw the future in my dreams three times." He then took his seat, having evidently spoken in opposition to his outward man.

After another smoke, I said: "Will you tell me your reasons for your fixed and strange determination?"

"It's no use," he said; "I have told you I will not now fight the Big Knives."

"Very well," I replied, "but I would like to know the reason for such action."

"I cannot and will not change my thoughts," answered Red Wing.

"Well, tell me why, and I'll say no more."

"You tell me," said the chief, "that the lion on this medal is the most powerful of all animals. I have never seen one, but I believe what you say. This lion, like our tiger, sleeps all day; but the eagle, who is the most powerful of birds, only sleeps at night; in the day time he flies about everywhere, and sees all on the ground. He will light on a tree over the lion, and they will scold at each other for a while; but they will finally make up and be friends, and smoke the pipe of peace. The lion will then go home, and leave us Indians with our foes. That is the reason for not taking up my war-club. Your enemies will believe me

when I speak good words to them." And so things turned out; we left them to care for themselves.

I had now about five thousand Indians at my command, and the least expensive troops known, for they fed and clothed themselves. I had now to look around, determine upon the means for defense, and drill the volunteers to the exercise of small arms. I had not the means, nor under existing circumstances would it be of any use, beyond guard-mounting, etc. If a force should be sent against us, it must be by water, and our dependence would rest on our artillery. I, therefore, selected the best men for the purpose. I, myself, at the head, and directing my bombardier to select two iron three-pound field pieces, and placing myself under his command, the drilling began. Our hearts were in the work. The words of command were few, the manœuvering for our purpose was simple. Twice a day, and four hours each time, under a broiling sun, was no boy's play. At the end of a week, half of the garrison were well able to manage the guns, but needed full practice, which I could not allow, as our stores were small. To keep up the excitement, we had sham fights twice a week, scampering over the prairie like so many real combatants.

In September, a Sauk Indian courier arrived, by a short cut across the country from Rock River, informing me that eleven gun-boats had been seen some distance below that stream making slow progress up the Mississippi, supposed to be designed for the recapture of Prairie du Chien. I immediately got ready Captain Graham and six sturdy volunteers, in two large wooden canoes, with a one-pound swivel, and some ammunition for the famous Black Hawk, who, with his warriors, was at the place of rendezvous, at the confluence of the Rock and Mississippi rivers. There for about four miles, is a very strong current—the navigable channel is narrow and very serpentine.

The obstruction at this point causes the water to flow about two feet deep, over a gravel beach; and if the boatmen are not very careful, the current will force the boat upon this treacherous gravel bank, and give no small trouble to get it again into the proper channel. My orders, therefore, to Captain Graham were, to remove the Indians out of sight, and leave nothing that could

alarm the Americans, until they should be well upon the difficult part of the rapid; then a single shot would throw them into confusion, when they could not well escape.

Captain Graham reached the place in time to effect his arrangements. The enemy arrived at the foot of the rapids too late in the day to undertake to ascend the difficult channel. They accordingly anchored in the stream, and thus my plan was thwarted. A young Indian, whose brother had been killed by the enemy a few days before, took the first chance which offered for revenge. He made his way at night to one of the gun-boats, and drove his lance through one of the sentries, killing him on the spot, and then making his escape, singing his war-song, and thus arousing friends and foes.

The next morning the American commodore had at the mast head of his vessel, the ominous words—*"No Quarters."* So our swivel began to play upon them; they took the alarm, cut their cables, and the whole fleet was soon on its back track for St. Louis.

It was necessary to make extensive repairs at Fort McKay to render our position comfortable for the winter. Provisions were to be previously supplied by the traders and farmers; the meat rations of game and fish. I had no military chest; but my credit was unbounded. I did not know anything about the mode of keeping army accounts, nor was I practiced in military regulations. I, therefore, reported these circumstances, and at the same time, recommended the bombardier, who had contributed so much to our success, for promotion. I sent off an express, in a light canoe, with this report, addressed to Lieut. Col. Robert McDouall, commanding at Mackinaw and its dependencies. Within a month, I received a very satisfactory reply; Captain Bulger, of the Newfoundland Regiment, was sent to relieve me in the command; and James Keating, late bombardier, was promoted to fort adjutant, and a contractor was appointed to supply rations.

Captain Bulger set to work, and in a very few days had all my accounts properly prepared; and though he commanded the garrison, I was the prime mover of all. Everything passed off with much glee; the officers and traders gave balls at least three times

a week, until about the latter part of December, 1814, when a melancholy event transpired. The contrator's meat stores were low, and he requested me to spare him two of my interpreters to go about fifteen or twenty miles to a Sioux camp for venison. They procured more meat than the two could carry, when an Indian volunteered to transport the surplus. One of the interpreters was a Canadian, the other a half-breed. The latter said to his comrade: "We must beware of this fellow, for he is a very treacherous Indian." The Canadian replied, while putting a second ball in his gun: "If he makes any fuss, he'll get these two balls to keep him quiet." They started with their loads, having but the one gun, which was carefully carried by its owner, the Canadian.

Night came on, and they encamped about eight miles from the fort. All this time the suspected Indian had been very good in his behavior; and in preparing their bed, he quite won their confidence, carefully drying their socks and moccasins, and carrying straw for their bed. The two interpreters lay down under the same covering, with the gun at their heads, leaning against a tree. They were soon sound asleep. Not so the deceitful Indian; for so soon as he found them unconscious, he quietly took their gun, and shot them both. The Canadian, who was next to him, was instantly killed; and one of the balls, passing through him, entered the half-breed just above the navel. Not feeling his wound, he jumped up; but the murderer and gun were gone. Finding his companion dead, and that he himself was wounded, he covered up the corpse, and started for the fort, which he reached about eight o'clock in the morning, quite faint from the loss of blood.

Immediately after the arrival of the wounded man, I dispatched a party of volunteers for the murderer; but he had fled. Failing to find the guilty outlaw, they apprehended the chief of the village [Le Corbeau François], who was an uncle of the escaped culprit, brought him to Prairie du Chien, and he was locked up in the Black Hole of the fort. The next day, on being informed that if the murderer was not immediately produced, he would be shot instead, he sent off a message to his band, explaining to his people the alternative. Search was made, and the guilty fellow found in another

tribe, a hundred miles away, and he was brought to the fort after only eight days' absence. The chief was forthwith released from confinement, and his nephew put in his place, where he remained a couple of days. Capt. Bulger was ignorant of Indian character, and Col. Diajon, a nobody, wished to save the prisoner on the ground, that in case he should be executed, it would turn all the Indians against us; while I, on the contrary, insisted that it would produce a feeling of respect, and it so resulted. I believe *fear*, among Indians, to be a means of securing their friendship. The culprit was shot as he deserved.

The commandant ordered a court-martial to try the prisoner. The wounded interpreter identified the murderer. The old chief said, "kill him; he is a bad man, and has murdered two Indians of his own family." The prisoner confessed his crime, saying his object in shooting them was to secure the gun. The court brought in the prisoner guilty, and sentenced him to be shot. Capt. Bulger approved the sentence, and ordered his execution the next day at ten o'clock, when the sentence was carried into effect—his death instantly followed the crack of the volley of rifles. Indians, whites, and all appeared satisfied at the result. The wounded interpreter died in my arms a few days after.

All was now quiet, until the latter end of May, 1815, when we received news of peace, and orders to evacuate the post, and return with all haste to Mackinaw. Capt. Bulger, who was heartily tired of the secluded situation, was off within two hours, leaving me to settle the accounts, and bring away the Volunteers. At twelve o'clock the next day, all was in readiness, and I was about getting on board, when a batteau full of Sauk Indians, with Black Hawk at their head, was seen coming up the river, and near at hand. After landing, and the usual formal smoke, I informed them of the conclusion of peace, and that they must now bury their war-clubs, and be good friends with the Big Knives—Americans. The whole-hearted man and unflinching warrior, Black Hawk, cried like a child, saying our Great Mother, Great Britain, has thus concluded, and further talk is useless. I gave them some ammunition, provisions, with a hearty shake of the hand, and we parted sorrowfully.

At Green Bay, I met dispatches from Col. McDouall, directing me to institute an inquiry to ascertain if any, and what, public accounts remained unpaid at that place. This detained me for some time; I, however, reached Mackinaw in July. Not many days after my arrival, I received orders to return to the Mississippi with three batteaux, loaded with Indian goods for distribution among the Indians, and to formally announce to them the conclusion of peace.

I did not return from this mission until September, when I found Mackinaw had been given up to the Americans; and Col. McDouall had taken up a position on Drummond Island, within our own limits, and which was an entire bush—never a stick had been cut here. I arrived there on the 15th of September, 1815. In a few days my Volunteers were paid off, and I was ordered by Mr. Askin, of the Indian department, to take charge of the new station, and all its stores. There were no houses, and every mechanic and laborer was engaged in erecting barracks and storehouses for the troops, consisting of detachments of artillery and engineers, two companies of the Thirty-Seventh Regiment, and also for the commissariat, field train, ordnance, store-keepers, medical and Indian departments—the latter numbering three officers, four interpreters, one doctor, and a blacksmith.

Each one had to prepare, as best he could, winter quarters for himself. Not being able to provide a shelter for my use without an effort, I took off my coat and went to work; my interpreter coming to my aid, I soon had a house. A fire had passed through the bush, and the logs at hand were all blackened, so it became necessary to frequently wash our hands and faces. My building was twenty-four feet by eighteen in size, six feet and six inches between the upper and lower stories, spaces between logs filled with chinks and clay, cedar bark roof, with a clay chimney. Though of novel construction, it was comfortable, and received the dignified name of "Pottawotamie Hall" from Col. McDouall.

I divided my house into three apartments, two bed rooms, and a drawing room, the latter serving also for my office and dining room. One of the bed rooms, I invited Mr. Keating to occupy.

My furniture consisted of a small pine table, three chairs, a bench, and a little cupboard in one corner, in which were three cups and saucers, and three plates, with knives, forks, and spoons to match. A small kitchen was located outside, in which a big fat soldier, our servant, prepared our breakfast, and blackened our boots. As we dined with the other officers of the mess, my servant had no pastry to cook. Thus we were settled for the winter.

Late in the fall, two schooners arrived from the Naval Depot at Kingston, to winter here—one commanded by Lieut. Adam Gordon, afterwards the "Laird of Kenmure," the other by Lieut. Keane, afterwards an admiral. In the winter, they got lonely on board, and solicited from me permission to stretch their hammocks in my drawing room, which was freely granted. A jolly and comfortable winter passed off, and spring opened to the joy of all, bringing us six months news from the civilized world. The issue of Indian presents commences in June; and, at the end of October, I had made issues to five thousand Indians from all points of the compass, including the Mississippi and Red River countries.

Col. McDouall and the Thirty-Seventh were relieved by a detachment of the Seventy-First, under Maj. Howard, a tyrant. It had been a custom to give as presents to the Indians, a large amount of silver ornaments, which I considered as a kind of luxury, not adding to the comforts of those people, but materially increasing the expense of the king's bounty. I, therefore, consulted with the major on the subject—for the Indian department, to which I was attached, was still under military rule; and, at my request, he issued a garrison order, directing me to confine my estimate for the supply of Indian presents, for the ensuing year, to such articles only as would prove a comfort to them, and not a luxury. This little job proved to be a big saving; for I have been told, that, at this very time, there were fifteen hundred pounds of these silver ornaments ready for distribution at the Niagara depot. But their issue was forbidden. I have no good words to say for Maj. Howard, so I leave him in silence, except to add, that he was peremptorily ordered to headquarters, on the opening of navigation, to be court-martialed.

Col. Maule, of the One Hundredth Regiment, now took com-

mand, accompanied by his non-such wife, and her sister, Miss Belle Jarvis, together with a jolly batch of officers. We now began to assume the rank of civilized life. "Pottawotamie Hall" being inconveniently situated for my Indian business, I erected a building rather more commodious. About this time Miss Hamilton and Miss Upsher arrived—the former a daughter of Capt. Hamilton, of the regiment, and granddaughter of Dr. Mitchell, surgeon-general of the Indian department; while the other young lady was the daughter of Capt. Upsher. They were cousins, and were living with Dr. Mitchell. Miss Hamilton was a well-educated, and very pious young lady.

During the winter, our almost daily amusement was snow-shoe walking, and in the evening tea-ing somewhere, for the whole garrison was living like one happy family, each seeking the other's comfort. A growing preference for each other's society became evident between Miss Hamilton and myself; and the next cutter drive, for I kept a horse, settled the matter. On the 20th of February, 1820, I was married to Elizabeth Ann Hamilton, daughter of the late Capt. James Matthew Hamilton, of the army, her grandfather, Dr. Mitchell, who was a magistrate, performing the service from the Church of England's prayer book; and Mr. George Mitchell was at the same time married to Miss Harriet Upsher. My marriage is duly recorded in the Register's office at Sandwich, Upper Canada.

Maj. James Winnett, of the Sixty-Eighth Regiment, was at this time in command of the garrison. It had up to this period, been a rule in the Indian department, to accept from the Indians presents of maple sugar, corn, mats, etc., repaying them amply from the Indian store. These presents from the Indians were intended to be converted into money, and placed to the credit of the department, but this was never done. Who profited by these operations is not my business to state. In the first year of my agency, I shipped six or eight hundred pounds of sugar to the headquarters of the Indian department, supposing it would be received, and disposed of, for the benefit of that department; but its receipt was never acknowledged. Consulting Maj. Winnett on the subject, he directed me to turn over all such articles as I

had in store to the commissariat of the garrison, and not in future receive presents—practically exchanging commodities with the Indians. Thus a few more thousands of savings were added to the silver ornaments.

Prior to this, I had been appointed a magistrate, collector of customs, postmaster, and issuer of licenses, giving me plenty to do. I must now return to my new order of things. It was delightful to have one so much beloved to handle the old tea-pot, and assist digestion by pleasant chit-chat. From the moment of our union we had perfect confidence in each other, and to the day of my precious wife's death, at Coburg, Upper Canada, June 30th, 1858, not a thought that originated in one's mind, that was not communicated to the other.

My wife instructed me in religious matters and induced me to establish family worship. From a place of Sunday resort to while away time, on the part of the officers, our home became a place of prayer; and at my companion's suggestion, I read, on Sundays, the morning church service, and one of Burder's, or of such other sermons as we could get. During the twelve years we were at Drummond Island, we received only four short visits from Protestant clergymen; one from Rev. Mr. Short, of the Church of England, from Amherstburg, and three from the Rev. Mr. Ferry, a Presbyterian missionary, from Mackinaw. Most of the officers, with their wives, attended services every Sunday. Not only did we continue these regular Sabbath services, but commenced to instruct the Indians in religious duties; and, though my explanations of Scripture were imperfectly imparted, yet they became so interested, that they would come a distance of nine miles to hear my evening readings.

Now my wife insisted on my sending for my two little Sioux children. Though she had one of her own, she felt bound to care for the others. The boy was sent to Sandwich, where he received a good English education; then kept store for some time at Coldwater, Canada; but thinking he could do better, he went to St. Louis, where he sickened and died of fever. The girl was educated in the United States, and in 1833, was a teacher in our school at Coldwater, where she married a highly respectable Eng-

lish gentleman named Andrew Robertson. She being entitled to what was called by the Americans a "Sioux land claim," it was thought by Mr. Robertson worth looking after; so they went to St. Paul, where, after a few years, he died, leaving his wife, and three children, all boys, who, I am informed, are doing well.

In the fall of 1828, I had occasion to visit Toronto, accompanied by the old Fort Adjutant Keating;[1] and shortly after the Indian agency was removed from Drummond Island to Penetanguishine, some ninety or a hundred miles nearly north of Toronto.

---

[1] This brave man, James Keating, deserves special notice. He was born in the parish of Templeshort, County Wexford, Ireland, in 1786. His father was a country squire, and was murdered at an early period. The son, at eighteen, joined the Royal Regiment of Artillery, in 1804, under Col. John Smith; and received a medal for his good services at Martinique. In 1814, he had the command of a volunteer battery on the Prairie du Chien expedition, and distinguished himself in an especial manner. In 1815, he was promoted to a lieutenancy, and was made fort adjutant at St. Joseph's; and was then stationed at Drummond Island till it was given up to the American government, then at Amherstburg, and finally at Penetanguishine. He was here promoted to the rank of captain, and adjutant in charge of that garrison till his death, in 1849, at the age of sixty-three. His son, bearing the same name, resides at Oil City, Canada. L. C. D.

Anderson's Journal at Fort McKay, 1814

By Capt. Thomas G. Anderson

Wednesday, August 10th, 1814.—Col. McKay set off at ten o'clock in the morning; would not allow any guns to be fired. In the afternoon a few Renards (Foxes) arrived from the Riviere au D'Inde, and brought word that they had seen the two barges that had went adrift from this place. The Tonnerre Noir, or Black Thunder, a Yankee Indian, passed on his way above, unperceived.

Thursday, August 11th.—Gave out some few articles of goods to the Michigan Volunteers, by Col. McKay's orders previous to leaving. Gave out twelve carrots of tobacco to be distributed among the troops in general. This was done because it is customary to allow the people of this place to smoke as a preventive to sickness. The want of provisions obliges me to give every assistance to the farmers to get in their grain as fast as possible. I, therefore, allow all the Volunteers that are not on duty, to go and work for them in the day time. Employed the Sergt. of artillery men, with some of the Michigans, in making leaden three-pound balls. Appointed a patrol to go about at night in order to detect stragglers, if any such persons should be found, that they may give an account of themselves.

Friday, August 12th.—Sent off twelve men with an interpreter, and two Indians for the barges that drifted away from this place. One of the Volunteers by the name of Aslin, having refused to go on fatigue, and having absented himself without leave, I put in close confinement and allow him one and one-half pounds of

bread, and two quarts water per day, till further orders. At three in the afternoon, eight canoes of Renards came, and landed at the entrance of the Marais, a little below the Prairie. From there, the chief with another came up and asked leave to offer some scalps they had brought. I gave them leave, and they returned for their canoes. This being the Prince Regent's birthday, put off practicing at the cannon till tomorrow. The small store of powder we have here, prevented our firing the customary salute on this day. At four, the canoes arrived, and asked to speak with me. I told the Indians to repair to the house lately belonging to Mr. Boilvin. The head man, not a chief, got up and gave me his hand, saying: "My father, we are ashamed to present you with these scalps (holding four scalps in his hand) because we did not kill them ourselves; but got three of them from our friends, the Sauks, and one we picked up on our way here—a man, that we supposed your guns had killed, in the gun-boat where you fought; he was lying on a sand bank." (Then presenting me with a few articles of American clothing), said: "We give you these few things, to wish you a good day, as they came from the enemy, hoping you will give us some assistance." Another Indian rising and showing me his leather breech-cloth, said, "My father, I beg of you some little assistance; you see how miserable I am off, being obliged to wear a leather petticoat."

To these requests I gave the following answer: "I am happy to see you, but am much chagrined that I have not a mouthful of provisions to give you. As for powder, tobacco, and goods, you need not speak of these articles, for your father" (alluding to Col. McKay), "after the battle of the Rapids, and previous to his departure, gave to the Sauks and Renards twenty kegs of gunpowder and fourteen bales of goods, to be distributed among such Indians of these nations as we knew to be good subjects, and must support. But in the space of twenty or twenty-five days there will be a strong reinforcement of troops here, and plenty of ammunition and other goods. Those Indians that merit support, will have it amply; but those that are attached to the Americans, as many of the Renards are, will be treated as we treat bad dogs."

At half past four, Lieut. Brisbois arrived, having been below the Rapids of the Riviere des Moines, with the prisoners. He brought nothing new. At sundown the fatigue party I sent for the barges arrived, with the two barges, having received no injury.

Saturday, August 13th, 1 P. M.—A Sioux canoe arrived from above, bringing word that Feuille's band, in drinking their rum, fought much but without arms, among themselves. They were about to kill the Aile Rouge, or Red Wing, but he ran away. At four, the Renards, that gave me four scalps yesterday, assembled and requested of me to return them the scalps, observing that they were the enemies' scalps that we had killed with our little cannon; but that I did not want such trophies, as we never took off the scalps of our enemies. Speaking of their loyalty, I answered them that it was not possible to depend upon their nation in general; that I knew that there were some good subjects among them, but many bad ones. That when they saw Robert Dickson, how they came and cried to him for support; and as soon as their English Father was fond of his children he always assisted them; but their misfortune was, that as soon as his back was turned, and they saw the Americans, some among them immediately raised their war-clubs over our heads. I am sorry to speak to you in this way, but necessity requires it, as I do not know the good from the bad. When your English Father speaks to his well-known good children, he does it with an open hand and heart; but when he knows he speaks to bad subjects, he does it with an *arm* in his hand. But the time is drawing near when a fire will be kindled, as in a meadow where there are stout trees. The bad hay will be burned down, and the fire will protect the stout trees, and leave them to grow without being annoyed.

Sunday, August 14, 12 o'clock.—Went out to the farms to inquire about mills, in order to get some flour made immediately. The mills are in bad order, but they will get them repaired; and as soon as the harvest gets in, they will begin to grind the wheat. At three, returned and found two of the Michigans drunk. They had stolen rum out of a keg that had been issued for a party

going for a gun-boat of the enemy, being a little above Fort Madison. When I had arrived, they were lying drunk. I ordered them into the guard-house. They were very insolent to the Sergeant, and in fact rushed out of the Block-house where they were confined, having no sentry over them, and behaved with violence, taking up clubs to defend themselves from the guard, when I ordered them a second time to be kept close. Having only one pair of fetters, I had them put on to one of them; the other I had tied.

Monday, August 15.—At nine, seven canoes, Renards from the Riviere au D'Inde, arrived. Having received a letter in French, from Capt. Grignon, on the 12th inst., the difficulty of deciphering it, prevented my inserting till today, as follows:

Fort McKay, Aug. 12, 1814.

Capt. T. G. Anderson, Comd'g Fort McKay:—

Sir—I beg you to take into consideration the request which I made of Lieut. Col. McKay, which he accepted. As I do not intend to act in anything that would be disagreeable to you; and knowing your intelligence, I hope that you will take everything into consideration. My only object is to prove as much as my feeble knowledge permits, to submit my views of public matters, which are founded upon truth, and which are of the greatest importance to make known, and should be understood everywhere, being interested for the service of His Majesty, etc.

1. The provisions which are absolutely indispensable, and which it would be a failure not to recognize [are wanting]. You know that the inhabitants of Green Bay are without help for their harvest, and that it is impossible for them to gather their crops without assistance. A mill there stands idle for lack of workmen. It is important for them to be provided with flour, unless affairs at Mackinaw should permit the furnishing an immediate supply, or I should not be allowed to return home (the people there must suffer).

It would be possible to send the powder you need, from that place; I myself could furnish two hundred and fifty pounds. Here you need to be provided with the munitions of war; you have not enough for the force you have, and what is the need of us Green Bay people here? Without additional supplies, you will be unable to defend the place; it is like a body without a soul. If permitted to return to the Bay, and you should have information of the approach of the enemy, I think that receiving notice, I could come to your assistance as soon as the (Indian) nations nearest here; and the nations of Fox River would come more promptly with me than by sending a message to them, which would only be met by procrastination as usual.

2. The provisions which are being consumed here by so many, it would be better, in my opinion, to husband in part, for another time (when the

enemy should threaten, and re-inforcements should be needed). It is costly to transport supplies for so many men from Mackinaw. As there are not sufficient munitions for those here, it has been my intention to obtain leave to go to the Illinois with some volunteers. I have tried to raise the Sacs and Foxes, in order to embroil them with the enemy. Such were the intentions of your servant, and more.

I need say nothing further. I hope for a furlough, and not transportation, as early as possible, with a letter of recommendation to the commander at Mackinaw, if agreeable to you to grant it.

I am, sir, etc., etc.,

PIERRE GRIGNON, Capt.[1]

My answer was as follows:

FORT MCKAY, August 15, 1814.

CAPTAIN GRIGNON:

Sir.—In answer to your letter of the 12th inst. I have to say as to the request you say you made of Colonel McKay, I know nothing about it. Summing up the contents of your letter, I find you want permission to return home, a request I cannot take upon myself to grant, for two reasons: first, that it was optional with you, previous to the Colonel's departure, to remain here, or return to your home; secondly, you are on the list with those to do garrison duty here till the reinforcement arrives from Mackinaw. As to provision, the less said on this subject the better. The object of our coming here was to make use of our arms, etc.

As to your good intentions, and wish to go and burn St. Louis,[2] I conceive it to be out of the question to harbor any such idea, with any number of the Indians, and perhaps forty or fifty volunteers that you with difficulty could muster. Attacking and totally destroying so formidable a place as that, is in my opinion, absurd. I am much obliged to you for your offer of powder, and am sorry it is out of reach. Having answered the principal subjects of your letter, I am sir, your humble servant,

THOS. G. ANDERSON, Capt. Comd'g.

At ten, Lieut. Graham went off to try and get the gun-boat, as mentioned in yesterday's orders. At six P. M. a violent thunder storm, with rain and much lightning. The firmament was as if in a continual blaze, from seven till ten.

TUESDAY, August 16th.—At ten, called up the Michigans that were confined on Sunday. When they proved that they got the rum, with which they got drunk on Sunday, from one of the Vol-

[1] Translated by Prof. W. F. Allen, so far as the sense could be comprehended.

[2] As this intention does not appear in Capt. Grignon's letter, it must have been derived from verbal expressions. L. C. D.

unteers, I sent for him, liberated the two Michigans, and put him in their place. The Michigans deserved, perhaps, to be more rigorously punished; but their crops being my principal support would not admit of my being too strict with them for the present. At five, a canoe of Puants arrived from their village on the Ouisconsin. Kept a party at work making swivel bullets. Finished covering the house. At half past eight the Volunteer in the guard-house was on the point of, and threatened to break out, when I ordered him to be put in irons.

Wednesday, August 17th.—Got the artificers at work widening the passage through the fort, but could not complete it entirely. At 9 P. M. the Feuille, or Leaf, arrived with five of his young men. He had heard by the Renards that the Americans were coming up, and that cannon had been heard firing below the Rock River lately, and that a barge had arrived from Mackinaw. The report of the firing of the cannon we knew to be false. Lieut. Brisbois has just come from there, and if a barge had arrived from Mackinaw, no doubt we would have had letters from there. Those vagabonds made this news in hopes to make themselves pass for friendly Indians.

Thursday, August 18th.—At ten, the Feuille came to the fort, when I told him the talk I had held with the Renards, the whole of which, he agreed, was perfectly right. I gave him the four scalps I got from the Renards. He told me, that in the course of a few days, he would send down to hear the news, and after that, he would come down himself with the men of his band to wait the arrival and command of his father, Robert Dickson. I gave him a few loaves of bread, and he went off. At two o'clock this morning, John Campbell, of the Volunteers, having repeatedly refused to do duty, I sent the Corporal of the guard with two men, and brought him up. In questioning him and asking his reasons for his not attending, he said he would not mount guard as long as he could get work to gain anything by. I told him he had better do his turn of duty with the others. He immediately mounted his high horse, and began to talk in a high tone, when I commanded him to be silent. He became insolent, and told me he did not care a d—n for me. I ordered him to the guard-house.

Kennet, who was put in irons on Tuesday, continues in the guard-house with his irons on him; is very abusive, and threatens every person in the garrison without exception. The fort done, and well completed.

Friday, August 19th.—The officers, etc., took two lessons at the gun, and got on very well. Let John Campbell out of the guard-house. A heavy shower in the morning. Got word that the Renards above had found the Indian that got drowned while going up with the Little Corbeau. They say he had his feet tied together. Got the carpenter to work making a scaffold, on which for a sentry to stand high, and see over the pickets. One of the swivels well mounted, and in the blacksmith's hands, to be bound, and ironed completely. Gave out a second to be mounted.

Saturday, August 20th.—At six, practiced at the gun till a quarter past eight. Went around to arrange with the farmers for flour. They will begin to thrash out their wheat on Monday. I promised them every assistance. At ten, the Michigans were drilled. At 2 P. M., got the other three pounder mounted, and went out in brigade at four o'clock, practicing sham fighting till six, when we returned to the fort. At half past three P. M., three young Renards arrived with a pipe, they say, from the Sauks, who send me word that the Americans were on their way up here in barges. They say they do not deceive me, three different couriers having seen the barges above the Cap au Gris ten days ago. The Sauks request me to go down to the Rapids with all the forces here, and meet the enemy there, and at the same time take them ammunition and guns. I told them I could give them an answer in the morning, as they told me this news at seven o'clock in the evening. I cannot put faith in this report. The couriers cannot inform me the number of the enemy's barges, nor can they even tell me the number of young Sauks that brought the pipe to the Renard village. They ask for ammunition and guns, two articles they have been repeatedly told that we have none; and Col. McKay, when he gave the Epervier Noir, or Black Sparrow Hawk, the last present, told him positively he need not expect any further supply of powder till the reinforcement came out. All these circumstances considered, I

conceive it to be a made up story of the Renards and Aile Rouges or Red Wings, to get us away from this, perhaps to destroy the place; or else to get us, as they suppose, into their power below this, and, as in such a case we would not suspect them, to get us into a council, and then do our business. Be this as it may, I treat the couriers well, and do not give the smallest idea that I doubt the truth of their report. On the contrary, I will encourage them to be on the lookout, etc. If there is any truth in their assertions, we shall know it in the course of three or four days by Lieut. Graham. The enemy will not reach this point, if the report is true, before twenty days.

Sunday, August 21st.—Answer to the young Renards that brought the pipe, and news of the approach of the Americans: "You will tell the Sauks, that I thank them for having sent a pipe as a token of the certainty of the enemy's approach. I also thank you for having been so expeditious in bringing the news here. You will tell the Sauks that my orders will not admit of my leaving this place for the present, having been left here to defend the post. At any rate, knowing that there are a number of bad Indians both above and below me, I fear were they to find that I had left the village unguarded, they might come and insult and destroy the inhabitants of the place."

I was careful to prevent their learning that we had only one half barrel of flour on hand. As to ammunition and guns, I sent word to the Sauks, that they well knew I had none to spare, having on hand only what would be necessary for twenty days in case of an attack—this was designed, in case the Sauks should give information to the enemy, to make them believe that we are not short of supplies. The Sauks, Renards, etc., ought to be well supplied, having got, previous to Col. McKay's leaving here, twenty kegs of gunpowder, and having taken a number of guns from the enemy, they are well enabled to stand a strong attack.

I advised the Indians below "to keep a good look-out, and not allow themselves to be surprised, and in case the Americans should come on horseback, as you say, try and decoy them into the bush, and surround them. Men on horseback, in a thick bush, cannot do much; and in case they get past your village in

barges, follow them up here, with a party on each side of the river, and annoy them if they debark to camp, to get wood, or otherwise; and by the time they reach here, I will have a strong reinforcement of Indians. Before they can reach here, the reinforcement will perhaps be out from Mackinaw, when you, our Sauk friends, will be all well supplied with ammunition and everything else.

"I am very sorry I cannot take upon myself to furnish the Sauks with any more ammunition; but let them take courage, and act as bravely as they did when they drove back the American gun-boats, and they may depend upon ample support, perhaps more than they can possibly expect, when the reinforcement comes out. When Black Hawk and the Sauk chiefs send expresses in the future, send people that can give the particulars of anything that is going on, and not young men that can give no information at all. The young men that brought me the pipe could neither tell me where the enemy were seen, their number of boats, nor anything more than merely they were coming. The pipe, you say, the Sauks sent to be left with me. I will keep it as a token of their good intentions, and will deliver it to their father, —the Red Head,[1] as soon as he arrives."

At twelve, the Sauk chief, Thomas, arrived. Two canoes having left the village previous to the arrival of this news there, he could give me no further assurance. He met Lieut. Graham within a few miles of the Rock River, and says he will be back here tomorrow or next day.

Monday, August 22d.—At six in the morning, it began to rain hard, and thundered a good deal. Rainy weather all day. At eight in the evening a Sioux canoe arrived with one man and three women; nothing new. Issued thirty-seven pairs Indian shoes to the Volunteers, and drilled the people.

Tuesday August 23d.—Got a number of men thrashing

[1] Col. Robert Dickson. Capt. Wm. Powell, who knew Dickson well, told me the Indians called him the *Red Haired Man*. The American Indians were accustomed, in after years, when Gov. Wm. Clark, of Missouri, became the superintendent of Indian affairs in the Northwest, of designating him as *Red Head*, as he had sandy hair. L. C. D.

wheat. At seven in the evening, Lieut. Graham arrived bringing Indian news, that the Americans were coming up. Nothing certain as to their force, or where they were seen. On the 20th, while Lieut. Graham was preparing to proceed from Rock River to go and destroy the gun-boat (the Sauks having refused to go and assist in getting her up), two young men arrived express from the Sauks on the Missouri, reporting that white people from the Illinois, they do not know who, sent word to the Sauks on the Missouri to inform those on the Rock River to be on their guard, as the Americans were to leave the Illinois on the 4th inst., in a strong detachment, to cut off the Sauks. No other certain news of their approach.

Wednesday, August 24th.—Having deliberated on the news Lieut. Graham brought from the Sauks, and taking into consideration the promises made Indians in general by Government, through Robert Dickson, and Col. McKay previous to his leaving here, of giving them every assistance, and supporting them against the invading enemy, I think it my duty to send an expedition to the Sauks for that purpose, in order to convince them that promises made by British officers are inviolable, and will be fulfilled, even under the most inconvenient circumstances. I, therefore, ordered that an expedition to the Rock River would be in readiness to march on the 27th inst. The forces are mentioned in the orders of the 24th. I also ordered that Mr. Renville leave here early tomorrow morning for the Sioux, that is the friendly band, to ask their chief, with as many as he can spare of his young men, to go on the same expedition, and at the same time to tell the Feuille or Leaf, to send word to the Little Corbeau to proceed with all the warriors of the lake,[1] and when they get to the Prairie La Crosse, to wait there till they send me word, and get further orders what to do. Lieut. Graham brought intelligence that the Sauks were all assembling at the Rapids of Rock River, and had sent word to the Puants, etc., and that he believed that before our expedition reaches them, there will be about twelve hundred warriors assembled there. They promised

[1] Probably Lake St. Croix. L. C. D.

they would fight to the last man, and sent me word that their fields of corn were open to the troops that I might send, as well as to all Indians going to their aid.

Thursday, August 25th.—The guns are in a fair way; the brass three-pounder finished at three in the afternoon. A Renard canoe arrived from above. There are eight men, with Le Jeune Homme chief. They arrived very much dejected, and were ashamed to hold up their heads. They did not offer to speak to me. The Commissary got in five hundred weight of flour.

Friday, August 26th.—At ten the Jeune Homme assembled his young men, and asked to speak with me. I went and found them in Boilvin's house. They had a pipe of peace, an otter sack, and a painted elk skin, with a few pieces of dried meat to give me. When he arose to speak, he offered me his hand; but I refused to give him mine. He then began a discourse that had no sense in it. His principal strain was, that he had always wished to follow his father, the Red Head's advice; but the Americans had turned his head, and he had behaved ill, and was sorry for it. In entering into the room, I, knowing he had a British silk flag, and had not hoisted it when he arrived here, told him, before he spoke a word, to show me his flag, for I feared he had given it to his friends the Americans. He sent and had it brought. I would have taken it from him, but fearing it might be improper, he having received it from the Superintendent. On that account I said nothing about it.

When he had finished his speech, his war-chief got up with the pipe in his hand, and said: "I made use of all the sense the mother of life gave me, in order to induce you to smoke my pipe; if I have done wrong, it is because I have been advised to it by my chief;" and having concluded his remarks, and about to light the pipe, I told him to save himself the trouble, as I would not smoke with them. He laid down the pipe, etc., at my feet.

I then replied to them thus: "You ought not to be surprised that I treat you in this way. You are of an age not to be foolish. You ought to have sense. I cannot, therefore, attribute your bad conduct to us, to have risen from a want of knowing better. But I attribute it to a real inclination of wishing to be

American subjects. If you were ashamed to expose your English flag to view, why did you not act as men, and arrive here with your American father's mark of distinction? The time is over for British officers to flatter, beg and pray of the Indians to follow the good road. Your father, the Red Head, is tired of using these means to Indians that come crying to him, when he is here, to get a blanket to cover themselves, or a charge of powder to kill wherewith to eat; and then as soon as his back is turned, to raise their war-club over our heads, and ask, with flattering stories, the same assistance from the enemy. None but dogs can be guilty of such conduct.

"The time is drawing near when the sun will be eternally hid from the bad Indians, and will be three times larger than now for good ones. Let every one who wishes well to his women and children, lose no time in showing his true colors; for I think when the great chief, the Red Head, arrives, his good children will appear bold and walk in good spirits, with their heads up. But the bad Indians will be like dogs almost starved to death. Everything that you have said, and my answer, I have marked on this piece of paper (holding up a sheet of paper), and will keep it till the great chief, the Red Head, arrives, and show it to him, that he may know our discourse. Your pipe and sack you will keep, and when he arrives, as he has the command of all the Indians, he will do as he pleases; but as for me, I cannot make peace with the Americans."

Never were Indians, perhaps, more dejected, and perhaps none ever so sincerely regretted their past folly. The Jeune Homme was the man that, when they got word of the Americans coming here last spring, got J. M. Cardinal, an inhabitant of this place, to write the Americans the situation of the country, and sent some of his young men with it to the enemy, and afterwards offered his services to go to war against us, and was instrumental in delivering up, with the Aile Rouge, or Red Wing, this place to the enemy. I conceived it my duty to talk to them in this strain, to convince them that the British wished all the Indian nations well, and would support them as long as they followed their good advice; but, at the same time, put them at defiance, and despised any threats from those that chose to join the Americans.

Fort McKay, Aug. 26, 1814.

To Lieut. Graham—

Sir:—The expedition for the Rock River under your command, being now in readiness, you will march tomorrow morning at eight o'clock, and proceed with all haste to your place of destination. On your arrival there, you will assemble the Indians, and explain to them that the intention of the expedition is to support them in defending their lands, and women and children, according to promises made to them by their father, Robert Dickson, and Lieut. Col. McKay; and that in case of any attack, they must support and defend the guns as long as they have a man standing. That they must not amuse themselves, during the action, in taking scalps. They must destroy the enemy as much as possible, except prisoners. Those they will treat well, and not, as is generally the case, use them barbarously; but on the contrary, if they use them as we always do our prisoners, and bring them here, they shall be well recompensed for it. You will, in case of being successful, and should be fortunate in making prisoners, use every means in preventing their being insulted, or ill-used by the Indians; and by all means act in every way towards them as becoming a British officer. You will not proceed below the Rock River until you find it necessary to take advantage of a commanding situation. If the enemy do not reach Rock River in six days after your arrival there, you will decamp and return here, unless you get information of their being at hand. But in case you find the enemy's forces to be absolutely too strong to risk an engagement, you will retreat here with all possible haste, leaving the Indians and a few of your men to follow up the enemy, and annoy them as much as possible until they reach here. Having full confidence in you, and the troops under your command, I trust to your judgment to arrange all necessary matters as occasion may require, and trusting to a deliberate and prudent conduct in you, I wish you a successful and safe return. I am, sir, etc.,

Thos. G. Anderson, Capt. Comd'g.

Saturday, August 27th.—At eight, the expedition for the Rock River, marched. We gave them three shots from the six pounder. At two, the Feuille, or Leaf, with fifty Sioux, arrived, on their way to join the expedition. Shortly after, forty Renards arrived for the same purpose. I gave them fifteen loaves of bread, and sent to procure a beef that I knew was for sale, but the owner sent me word if I would send him two milch cows, I might get his ox. I then inquired of Mr. Brisbois, from whom I have had every assistance he could possibly give, even to the distressing of his own family. He furnished a pair of two year old bulls, which I gave to the whole of the warriors. The Feuille brought word that he had met a Renard canoe with two men in it, who informed him,

that a Renard messenger was sent from the Illinois by the Americans, with a notice to the Indians, that they, the Americans, were on their way up here mainly to take possession of their fort [at Prairie du Chien], and not to hurt the Indians. That they, the Indians, were requested to keep out of the way. That the Americans, like hunters in the wood, had wounded a deer; they had wounded the English, and were following the track till they should ruin or destroy the whole. The Feuille heard this report too late to authorize him to take the Renard. The Feuille does not understand the Renard language himself, but this was interpreted to him some time after passing the Renard canoe.

Sunday, August 28th.—Gave the Feuille ten bushels of wheat to take him, with the Renards, to the Rock River. A young lad of this place, by the name of Antoine Du Bois, volunteered his service, and embarked with the Sioux interpreter. I gave the Feuille a few articles he was absolutely in want of. Fifty Sioux, of the Feuille band, with forty-five Renards, left this place at two o'clock singing the war-song; and at six, about sixteen Puants arrived from above, debarked at the upper end of the village, and walked down to the lower end, singing the war-song, then immediately embarked and went off. Wrote a note to Capt. Grignon to prepare himself to go off express to Mackinaw tomorrow at ten o'clock.

Monday, August 29th.—Finished the dispatches at ten, and Capt. Grignon being detained in expectation of Mr. Antoine Brisbois arriving from below, did not set off till four in the afternoon. Mr. Brisbois did not arrive.

Prairie du Chien, Fort McKay, Aug. 29th, 1814.

To Lieut. Col. McDouall—

Sir:—The command of this post having been left to me by Lieut.-Col. McKay, I have the honor to communicate to you, that on the 27th instant I sent off a small detachment under the command of Lieut. Graham of the Indian department, for the Rock River, consisting of thirty men, one brass three-pounder, and two swivels. Having sent Lieut. Graham to that place on the 15th inst., in order to get a party of Sauks to proceed with him to within two miles of the enemy's abandoned Fort Madison, to take possession of, and, if possible, bring away a gun-boat that the enemy had got sunk, by the fall of a tree, last Spring, on their way up here; and, at the same time, to get information of the enemy.

But the Sauks, having got repeated information, by scouting parties, that the Americans were on the point of leaving St. Louis for this place, they were afraid, and would not go. Lieut. Graham, therefore, determined to proceed, with his small party of volunteers, to burn the gun-boat, in order to prevent its falling into the enemy's hands. As he was on the point of embarking for that purpose, two young Sauks arrived from the Sauks on the Missouri (where there are still ten lodges —say one-hundred men) express, with news that a courier had been sent by some French gentlemen, from St. Louis, to the Sauks on the Missouri, to notify them that a strong detachment of the enemy was to march from St. Louis on or about the 12th inst., to cut off the Indians at Rock River.

The courier from St. Louis was sent to the Indians on the Missouri, that they might immediately give information to those on the Rock River to be on their guard. Lieut. Graham, believing this report to be true, returned here on the 23d instant; but previous to his return, exclusive of circulating reports, the Indians at the Rock River sent word to me, and to the Indians above this, through the medium of a pipe, to inform me of the enemy's being on their way here, and begged that I would send them some ammunition, with one or two guns, and a few soldiers, to assist them in defending their lands, women, and children.

On Lieutenant Graham's arrival, I called together all the officers to have their opinions on the subject, and they universally agreed that it was absolutely necessary to send a small detachment, not only for the preservation of the post, but to retain the Indians in our favor. This small detachment, together with the aid they get from the Feuille with forty of his young men, will greatly encourage the Indians on the lower Mississippi, and prevent their joining the enemy, which necessity might otherwise compel them to do.

The Sauks, Renards, and Kickapoos that were about the entrance of Rock River when Lieutenant Graham was there, formed about eight hundred men, though, with the reinforcements that will join them by the time the detachments from this reaches them, I am well persuaded will reach from twelve to fifteen hundred men. Upwards of one hundred men, Sioux, Puants and Renards, from above this, passed here yesterday on their way to join the detachment. Ammunition, arms and tobacco are the principal articles the Indians are really in distress for.

I beg leave to remark that the critical situation of the country here at present absolutely requires that Robert Dickson should be here with the reinforcement of troops asked for by Lt.-Col. McKay. The Volunteer privates from Mackinaw and the Bay, though willing to serve their country, are becoming weary of garrison duty, and as the time for which they volunteered their services having expired, they hope to be soon relieved. I send Captain Grignon, of the Bay, express, with this communication. I have the honor to be, etc.

THOS. G. ANDERSON, Capt. Comd'g.

Tuesday, August 30th.—At twelve o'clock the Bourgue, a Puant chief, arrived, and reports that he heard that Robert Dickson had left Mackinaw some time since for this post.

Wednesday, August 31st.—Requested of Mr. Brisbois to repair Mr. Fisher's store, a convenient place to put part of the public goods. The Feuille having assured me that he had sent off two young men from his village to inform the Little Corbeau, I did not send an interpreter, as ordered on the 28th inst. The Feuille gave me this information on the 29th inst., in the morning.

Thursday, September 1st, 1814.

To Mr. Frenier.—You will leave this immediately, with three men in a wooden canoe, and proceed with all haste up the Mississippi till you fall in with the Little Corbeau. You will tell him the enemy are on their way up here. That Robert Dickson, from Indian reports, will be here in a very short time, and that it is requested that the principal part of his band will remain above this, not higher up than the Prairie a La Crosse, to hunt, till further orders.

Yours, etc.,

Thomas G. Anderson, Capt. Com'd'g.

Mr. Frenier went off at ten o'clock. Showers of rain all day.

Friday, September 2d.—Two letters that I wrote Lieut. Graham when he went down to the Rock River in quest of the American gun-boats, having been omitted, are inserted as follows:

Fort McKay, August 14th, 1814.

To Lieut. Graham:

Sir:—You will leave this to-morrow morning at ten o'clock, with one interpreter and six men, in a canoe. You will proceed immediately to the Rock river, unless you get certain news of the enemy's approach. On your arrival there, you will call together the Sauk chiefs, soldiers and braves, and give them a carrot of tobacco, as a present, and a request to them to go with you to assist in obtaining the object of your voyage, which is, to bring up an American gun-boat that is lying a short distance above Fort Madison. In case you are successful in getting the boat, you will use your endeavors in getting Indians to assist you in bringing her up here; but if you cannot get that assistance, you will run her up into the Rock River where she will be safe till she can be sent for from here. If your best exertions fail in getting off the boat, you will burn her, to prevent her falling into the enemy's hands.

In case you get certain information of the enemy's approach; or if you find it necessary on any other occasion to send an express here by land, you will order the Indians bearing it, to show themselves on the hills opposite this place. On their arrival, they will halloo a few shouts, then fire one

gun, and shortly after they will fire three shots. This will be a signal to let me know who they are. In asking assistance from the Indians, you will tell them if they go with you and bring up the boat, they will be amply recompensed when the reinforcement arrives from Mackinaw. Wishing you a short and successful passage, I am, sir, etc.,

THOS. G. ANDERSON, Capt. Com'd'g.

FORT MCKAY, August 21st, 1814.

Lieut. GRAHAM:

Sir:—Last evening three Renards arrived here with a pipe, sent, they say, by the Sauks, to tell me the Americans were on their way up here; but the express could [not] tell me what number of barges were coming, nor where they were seen. I will thank you to make particular inquiry of the Sauks, where the pipe came from; and tell them if they send in future, to send people that can be depended upon to give every information. They asked for ten kegs of gun-powder, and guns—two articles that they are already well supplied with. I, therefore, gave them none.

Get certain and particular information before you send or return. You will tell the Indians, in case the enemy are coming up, to follow them by land, on each side of the Mississippi, and annoy them as much as possible; at the same time not to waste their ammunition in firing random shots. They requested me to go down and meet the enemy at the Rock River. This being impossible, for several reasons, I refused them positively. If you cannot get the gun-boat, use every means to destroy it.

Yours, etc.,

THOS. G. ANDERSON, Capt. Com'd'g.

At four A. M., a Puant arrived with Francois La Pointe's horse, that had been stolen by the Puants.

SATURDAY, Sept. 3rd.—A cool pleasant morning, but foggy.

To Lieut. GRAHAM:

Sir:—You will receive by interpreter Grignon, five hundred and twenty pounds of flour, all that I can possibly muster. Indian report says, that Robert Dickson left Mackinaw a long time ago for this place. I have been waiting now three days, in hopes of certain information on that head, to no purpose. If you think it is necessary, you can remain a few days longer than the term mentioned in your instructions of the 26th ult. I am very anxious to hear from you. I refer you to Mr. Grignon for further particulars. In hopes shortly to receive flattering news from you, I am, sir, etc.,

THOS. G. ANDERSON, Capt. Com'd'g.

SUNDAY, Sept. 4th.—At ten the militia assembled as usual. I thanked the inhabitants of St. Friole, by way of encouraging them, for having furnished what little flour they had done. Having heard a rumor that the Volunteers were about to take their

discharge when on parade, I represented to them the disgrace that would attend such a step, etc. They made no reply, and continued their duty for the present. At three A. M., two Renard canoes arrived, with six men and several women and children. By way of getting provisions and ammunition, they fabricated a story that the detachment gone below, had surrendered to the Americans. Knowing this to be a base falsehood, I abused the cowardly villians, as they deserved, and gave them nothing. This afternoon a canoe of Renards from above was seen by old La Pointe, to go down the river behind the island. He did not give me notice till late in the evening.

Monday, Sept. 5th.—The Renards that arrived yesterday, went off above.

Tuesday, Sept. 6th.—Finding that one Fontaine had a mare and a young colt here, and that he had been in the Illinois three years, I ordered the mare to be taken (the colt being only this Spring's) and broke in for the King's service.

Wednesday, Sept. 7th.—At four, four Sauks, old men, arrived from the Rock River, bringing the following communications from Capt. Graham, viz.:

Rock River, September 3, 1814.

Capt. Thos. G. Anderson:

Sir:—Agreeably to your orders of the 26th of last month, I proceeded with all expedition for this place, which I reached on the 29th of the same month. Although there is no apparent danger, our coming here has given more satisfaction to the Sauks than if all the goods in the King's store in Mackinaw had been sent them, as they are now firmly convinced that their English Father is determined to support them against the ambition and unjust conduct of their enemies. I made known to them the intention of the expedition, to which they answered that, if we should come to action, they would stand by us to the last man. One hundred and twenty-two men, Sioux, Renards and Puants, arrived here the day before yesterday. The whole of the Indians appear to be much animated to meet the enemy, and I think with what force we have to be able to repulse any party that the enemy will be able to send this way.

I have not been able to obtain any satisfactory information of the enemy coming up. Four days ago, five Indians that went down on discovery, returned. They were as far as Cap au Gris. They say, at that point there is a small fort, which I suppose to be Fort Independence. There was a considerable number of men in and around it, with two large gunboats at anchor before it. Whether this force is stationed there to guard their frontiers, or

for collecting for an expedition to come this way, is uncertain. I detained this letter three or four days, waiting the return of five Indians that had been gone about twelve days, in hopes to obtain from them more certain information; but, finding their stay too long, I send off this, as I know you are impatient to hear from this place.

Eight Indians went off, three days ago, to find out what detained the others. To them I gave orders to burn the boat, as I thought it would be impossible to send the number of men it would require to bring her up in case of an attack. As there is continually a number of Indians on the look out, we cannot be surprised on the least notice of their coming. We shall take our position on the island,[1] which is the best place for defense that I know on the Mississippi. I beg you will pay attention to those that go up with this, as we are dependent on them here for provision. As soon as the discovering party returns, if there is no appearance of the enemy coming up, I shall of course return. I hope ere this you have news from Mackinaw.

Sir, I am, etc.,

(Signed) DUNCAN GRAHAM,
Lieutenant Indian Department,

(P. S.) Having finished this at ten o'clock at night, in the morning the discovering party arrived. They saw, yesterday morning, three large gun-boats under sail on their way up, about thirty leagues from here. It seems their fears prevented them from knowing their exact number. Before this reaches you, we shall, I hope, decide the business. As soon as it is daylight, I will send Lieut. Brisbois with a canoe well manned, if possible to know their strength. Should we be attended with success, you shall soon hear. I expect them after to-morrow. Nothing further at present. The 4th of Sept., about one o'clock in the morning.

(signed) DUNCAN GRAHAM.

At five, a canoe arrived from the above; three Iroquois from the Riviere des Sotrax[2] having left their families on that river, and came here to get some ammunition, as they were quite destitute of that article.

FORT MCKAY, Sept. 7th, 1814.

To Lieut. GRAHAM—

Sir:—I received your communication of the 3d and 4th inst., and from the enemy's apparent force, I hope ere this the business is decided in our favor. I am much gratified to have it in my power to give a most flattering detail of good conduct of the Sauks, etc., to Lieut. Col. McDouall, who I am well persuaded, will be highly pleased with them. No news from Mackinaw, but hourly expected. The express for Mackinaw left here on the 29th ult., also an express for the Sioux on the 1st inst., not yet returned. In

[1] Rock Island, unquestionably. L. C. D.
[2] Sauteur or Chippewa River, doubtless. L. C. D.

case of your being successful, and take any prisoners, use every effort to preserve them; and if your stock of provisions will admit, bring such prisoners up here, to be sent on to Mackinaw. I am, sir,

THOS. G. ANDERSON, Capt. Com'dg.

N. B. You will receive this by the return of the Sauks you sent up here, who leave here to-morrow morning. T. G. A.

THURSDAY, Sept. 8th.—The Sauks that arrived with the communication from Lieut. Graham, set off with dispatches at eight o'clock in the morning. Previous to their setting out, I gave them each a blanket, a breech-clout, and a knife, they being four in number. They went off highly pleased.

FRIDAY, Sept. 9th.—At three in the afternoon, six Puant canoes arrived from the Ouisconsin, with La Gruness, and the Old Wolf. They brought word that a Folle Avoine woman from Mackinaw brought news to the Bay, that when she left the post, the American fleet was in sight of Mackinaw. How long since, or what was their force, she knew nothing about.

SATURDAY, Sept. 10th.—At one o'clock P. M., five Sioux arrived from the Rock River, bringing news that Lieut. Graham, with the detachment under his command, and the Indians, had attacked and defeated eight large American gun-boats at the Rock River; had taken neither prisoners nor anything else. At five in the afternoon, a young Sauk, who had set off from the Rock River express with two Sioux and a Renard, but having tired them out, arrived here alone with dispatches from Lieut. Graham, as follows:

ROCK RIVER, Sept. 7th, 1814.

Capt. THOMAS G. ANDERSON—

Sir:—I mentioned to you in my letter of the 4th inst., by the information I had from the Indians, that the enemy were within thirty leagues of this place on their way up. As soon as I found out their strength, I concluded the place of their destination must be La Prairie du Chien. The Rapids was the only place where we could attack such a force to any advantage. On the 5th inst., we moved to the west side of the island, and took our position at the narrowest part of the channel, the only place where they could pass at that point. We were determined to dispute the road with them, inch by inch.

They appeared in sight at 4 o'clock P. M. with a strong fair wind. There were eight large boats, four of which were equal in size to the one that made her escape from the Prairie. The largest of them had a white flag flying at her mast head. When they came to the head of Credit Island, about two

miles from us, a storm of rain, thunder and lightning came on, and the wind shifted to the opposite point of the compass, which compelled them to pass the remainder of the day, and that night there. All the women and children were sent to the Island. I took all the Sioux with us to cover the guns in case of being obliged to retreat, as they promised they would rather be killed to the last man than give up the guns.

I told the Sauks, in case the enemy should attempt to land at their village, to retreat to the island, and then we would return altogether and attack them. The sixth, at break of day, some of the Sauks came to us, and requested that we should attack them immediately, as the wind was against them, and some of their boats were aground. We crossed to the main land at the Foxes' village. There we left our boats, and went as quick as possible through the prairie unperceived by the enemy until we were on the beach opposite to them. Here we had a close view of them. I had no idea of the enormous size of their boats before. They lay with their broad sides close to a low sandy beach. The largest of them had six port-holes open on the side next to us. The channel was about six hundred yards broad.

We were on an elevated spot, but no covering. I requested the Indians not to waste their ammunition firing at the boats, and save it in case the enemy should attempt to land. They did so. Finding they could not make up matters with the Sauks, as they had killed one of their sentinels in the night, they took down the white flag, and put up the bloody flag in its place, which I believe to be a signal of no quarters. It was then seven o'clock in the morning. Everything being ready, we opened a brisk fire from the three-pounder, and two swivels, on their boats. In about three-quarters of an hour the largest of their boats, which was ahead of the others, after having about fifteen shots through her, began to push off, and dropped astern of the rest, and made the best of her way down the current. The others soon followed her. We kept firing at them along the bank, as far as the ground would permit us to drag the guns; but they soon got out of our reach.

They went on about a league, and put to shore. I thought they might intend to throw up some breast-works, and make a stand at that place. I sent immediately for the boats to go with all the Indians, to endeavor to dislodge them from there. By the time we were ready to embark, some of the Indians that followed, returned and informed us, that it appeared to them that the Americans had committed the bodies of some of their men to a watery grave, well knowing if they buried them on shore, they would be torn to pieces. They then got up their sails, the wind being fair, and made the best of their way off. As the enemy landed at that place, the Indians say they were about a thousand men. I think their number to be between six and eight hundred.

If we had had a larger supply of ammunition and provisions, we might have harassed them as far as the Rapids of the Riviere des Moines; but having only a scanty supply of the one, and entirely destitute of the other, we were obliged to give up pursuing them any further. Although we have not been able to capture any of their boats, they have been completely repulsed, and I

have every reason to believe with a considerable loss, as out of fifty four shots that we fired at them, there was only three or four that did not go through their boats. The action lasted about an hour. One of the swivels was served by Lieut. Brisbois, and the other by Colin Campbell, which they executed with credit to themselves; and all attached to the expedition behaved themselves in a manner worthy of veteran troops, for they seemed to vie with each other who would be the foremost, notwithstanding they were entirely exposed to the enemy's shot, and I am happy to say that not a man was hurt. It is to the skill and courage of Serg't Keating, on whom everything depended, that we owe our success, and no praise of mine can bestow on him what he deserves. As the Indians had no communication with the enemy, I have not been able to find out who commanded the American expedition. Sir, I am, etc., DUNCAN GRAHAM,

Lieut. Indian Dept.

SUNDAY, September 11th.—The Indians from the Rock River detachment continued arriving in small bands.

MONDAY, September 12th.—The remainder of the Sioux, Puants and Renards arrived from the detachment below. At four o'clock a wooden canoe arrived from the Portage, with interpreter Bester and Lance Corporal Haywood, and their men, bringing with them one case ordnance stores and one keg of powder. The conductor of the boat from Mackinaw, not being active, did not get the boat over the Portage, therefore the ordnance stores, etc., were left there till I can send for them. I received letters as follows:

MICHILIMACINAC, August 21, 1814.

To Capt. ANDERSON, or officer commanding Fort McKay:

Sir:—I have great pleasure in returning you my thanks for your judicious and spirited conduct during operations which ended in the capture of Fort McKay. I doubt not that whenever another opportunity presents, you will again distinguish yourself by such praise-worthy conduct. I beg you will take the earliest opportunity of expressing my entire satisfaction with the good conduct and spirit evinced by all ranks employed upon the expedition; but in particular to mention my obligations to Capts. Dease and Grignon, and Lieuts. D. Graham and Brisbois, and the interpreters, St. Germain, Renville, Honore and Grignon, of the Indian Department. I likewise request you to return to Serg't Keating particularly, my thanks for the bravery and good conduct which he so conspicuously displayed, and also to the detachment of the Michigan Fencibles and to the Volunteers and militia, for their spirited and exemplary behavior. You will convey to the garrison in general my firm belief that the fort which they so gallantly won, they will as gallantly defend.

In the event of Col. McKay's having left the fort, you will command them till further orders, making every possible exertion to strengthen your post, and omitting no precaution which may be necessary for its defense. I have sent Lance Corporal Heywood, of the Tenth Veteran Battalion, in charge of some ordnance stores. He is to remain with you, and be employed at the artillery, under Sergeant Keating, whom I have appointed Ordnance Store Keeper at Fort McKay.

You will see the obvious necessity of cultivating the best possible understanding with the Indians, particularly with our allies, the Sauks and Renards. You will signify to them how highly I am pleased with their conduct, and that everything in my power shal be done to supply their wants. You will signify to the Leaf and Little Corbeau my approbation of the assistance which they have afforded, and my hope that, if another attack is threatened, this Fall, that they will bring down the whole of their warriors to your assistance. Point out to them of what consequence it is to them to keep the enemy at their present distance. You may assure them that great efforts are making by the King in their behalf; and that the Ministry are determined to make no peace, till the lands plundered from the Indians, are restored. To attain this purpost, great reinforcements of troops are coming out.

As Lieut. Grignon, of the Indian Department, is to reside for some time at Green Bay, you will communicate with me through him, by every possible opportunity, taking care to acquaint me with every consequence that occurs. If our post is likely to be attacked, you will also call upon him to collect whatever Folles Avoines, Winnebagoes and militia from Green Bay, that he can, and repair with the utmost expedition to your assistance. I am not without hopes of being able, by and by, to send a detachment of troops to reinforce your garrison.

It will be necessary that some regular system should be adopted for victualing the troops, which Capt. Rolette will undertake. They must be supplied with game and deer, and what beef can be got. We have not any pork to spare, and, indeed, the only chance of our being able to keep a fort at Prairie du Chien, is by the country being able to feed and support that garrison, without making any demand upon this post for provisions, which is out of the question for me to grant. Capt. Dease and yourself must make the best arrangements you can for supplying the troops, taking care that the utmost regularity and correctness appear in your accounts and disbursements. Col. McKay mentions his finding Mr. Honore, of the Indian Department, a very useful Commissary, and you had better still employ him in that capacity.

On Capt. Rolette's return, he will take with him the proper form, according to which your monthly pay-lists are to be made out. On the 24th of each month, the troops to be regularly mustered, and the men all present, or their absence accounted for. You will always be upon your guard, and take the necessary precautions to become acquainted, through the Sauks, with all the motions of the enemy; and endeavor to ascertain, as early as possible, if they have intentions of attacking you, that you may, in due time, be prepared for

a most determined and vigorous defense. With the assistance of your Indians, I doubt not you will be able to repel any attempt of the enemy; but above all things, be constantly in readiness for it. I have the honor to be, etc.,

(Signed.) R. McDouall, Lieut. Col. Commanding.

Point au Ecorce, August 24, 1814.

My Dear Anderson:—

As soon as the boat arrives, you will send down ten kegs powder to the Sauks, etc. I need not tell you to put the place in the best state of defense, and get all the Indians from above, etc. Yours, etc.,

(Signed.) Wm. McKay, Lieut.-Col., etc.

Besides these I received other letters from my friends.

Tuesday, Sept. 13th.—Lieut. Brisbois arrived early in the morning in a canoe with interpreter Grignon, and the men that went down with the first supplies of provisions. At twelve, the weather cleared up, having rained successively two days and nights. At half past six, Lieut. Graham arrived with the whole detachment under his command, all well, after having driven off eight large gun-boats, with about one hundred men in each of them. We were obliged to give a good deal of bread, and some wheat to the warriors from below. The Puants drove off and killed one of Capt. Rolettes' oxen. Notwithstanding his men saw them drive the ox away, they neither attempted to rescue him out of their hands, nor come and give information, in order to get assistance from me.

Wednesday, September 14th.—Began to write dispatches to Mackinaw. Finished at five o'clock in the afternoon. To Lieut. Col. McDouall, as follows:

Prairie du Chien, Fort McKay, Sept. 14th, 1814.

Sir:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your obliging favor of the 21st ult., which I received on the 12th inst. in the evening, with one case of fixed shot, and one keg of powder, the conductor of the boat, not, as he says, having been able to drag the boat across the Portage. I sent off a boat this afternoon to bring away the ammunition, and the one from Mackinaw will return immediately from there to Green Bay with these dispatches, directed to Lieut. Grignon, for him to forward.

I have the honor most graciously to thank you for myself, and in the name of all the troops, etc., attached to this garrison for your condescending approbation of their conduct in the late engagement at this place, under our undaunted and able Commander, Lt.-Col. McKay, to whose judicious man-

agement the inhabitants of this place, and the Indian tribes on the Mississippi, acknowledge a happy and easy deliverance from an enemy that absolute necessity obliged them for a moment to countenance. I beg you may be assured every particular of your orders shall be strictly attended to, and put in execution without delay. I am happy in having your approbation of Capt. Dease's able assistance to act in conjunction with me. I shall only take the liberty to remark, the only change that can at present be made about the garrison, is to put in comfortable quarters in which to lodge the troops; and as for provisions, in my opinion, the cheapest and most convenient means would be to send a detachment from here, taking the Sauks, etc., on their way, and bring from some distance about St. Louis, a drove of cattle, where the Indians report that there are vast droves running wild about American abandoned settlements. In this case, and even in the event of depending upon the Indians, a quantity of salt would be necessary.

Lieut. Graham having arrived last evening with the detachment from Rock River, I have the honor to communicate to you, that on leaving here 27th ult., they made the best of their way, and arrived at the Rock River on the 29th; and soon got certain information that the enemy were near at hand, but could not know their strength till eight large gun-boats hove in sight on the 5th inst., at four o'clock in the afternoon. The foremost, being the largest, and a finely painted boat, was supposed to be the commanding officer's. She had a white flag hoisted at her mast-head. This was supposed to be with an intent either to deceive the Indians, or to use every means to gain them over to their side. Our people kept themselves concealed, expecting the enemy would attempt to ascend the Rapids, when they would have had a fair opportunity to capture the whole. The enemy had no communication with the Indians, but lay quietly at anchor.

In the course of the night, contrary to Lieut. Graham's orders, some of the Indians shot two of the sentries from off their boats, and the next morning the enemy struck the white flag, and, to their confusion be it said, hoisted a scarlet one in its place, a signal for no quarters. Lieut. Graham, finding their intentions were to remain there some time, and as the Indians became ungovernable, it became necessary to commence a fire upon them, which was done with much honor to those who commanded the guns. They having fired about fifteen rounds into the front boat, she turned her stern to the current, and sailed down as fast as possible, the seven others immediately following. The guns played upon them as long as they could be dragged along the beach.

Lieut. Brisbois commanded one of the swivels, Sergt. Keating the three-pounder, and Sergt. Colin Campbell of the Fencibles or Volunteers, the other swivel. The shots were well directed, for out of fifty-four that were fired, not more than three missed doing execution. The enemy were thrown into such a consternation on seeing a few red coats, that they could do nothing with their guns, and in fact did not fire more than fifteen shots till they recovered their senses, and then they were too far off to do execution, but kept

up a brisk random firing. Notwithstanding about twelve hundred Indians, and the detachment from this place were the number present, and every man displayed the greatest courage and good conduct, yet the battle was fought by only about twenty men that manned the guns.

If the officers and men of this garrison have merit for their conduct on the 17th July last, surely the detachment to the Rock River excel, and deserve every praise. The gun-boats were supposed to have eight hundred men on board, and some of them were pierced for twelve guns. I beg to mention particularly Lieut. Graham's judicious conduct in the command of the detachment, and Lieut. Brisbois, Sergt. Keating, and Sergt. Colin Campbell of the Volunteers, for their courage and well managed firing. On this head too much cannot be said of Sergt. Keating.

The satisfaction afforded the Indians from their having had this assistance, can only be imagined. Their shouts and acclamations of joy at every shot from our guns, drowned the report of the guns, and notwithstanding the only assistance they could give was to drag about the guns, they displayed the greatest courage, and promised to die to a man with their fathers. The Feuille with his warriors were particularly active in this duty. The Sauks have, without repeating their gallant conduct in the field, behaved in a manner foreign to Indian nations. They, having large fields of corn, strove one with another, who would be the most obliging, and furnish the most of that article to the detachment.

Not being well acquainted with the duties of a Commanding officer, I dreaded reproach by leaving the garrison, is the reason why I did not go myself with the detachment below; but should any other opportunity present itself, I will risk the leaving the garrison in charge of some militia, to go and meet the enemy with all the force I can muster, unless I receive contrary orders. The iron three-pounder, we took with Fort McKay, is without any elevating screw, a necessary part of the gun we cannot get made here. I take the liberty to refer you to letters written to, and received from Lieut. Graham during his absence with the detachment to the Rock River, which will afford you a more minute detail of the whole management.

That worthy soldier, Sergt. Keating, begs of me to request you will do him the favor to accept his warmest acknowledgments for the honor you have shown him. From his behavior since he left Mackinaw, I have not the smallest doubt but he will continue to deserve your approbation of his conduct. I have the honor, etc.,

THOS. G. ANDERSON, Capt. Com'd'g.

Sent a barge off for the Portage to bring away the ammunition, and at the same time to take the dispatches there and forward them by the barge that came from Mackinaw to Lieut. Grignon at Green Bay, and for him to forward to Mackinaw.

THURSDAY, Sept. 15th.—Nothing material happened till the afternoon at six o'clock, when interpreter Frenier arrived from

above, with news that the Sioux would all leave their villages on the 14th inst., to come and wait at the place I told them till further orders, except the Little Corbeau with his lodge, who would come and camp here. This chief sent word to the Renards above this, that his Father had told him to destroy the Americans as much as lay in his power, and he knew these Renards to be Americans; but at the same time they were related to the Sioux, on which account he warned them to be out of his way when he should come down. That he would be down with a detachment, and intended to hunt Americans all winter; and that whatever of that description came in his sight he would cut down. When the Americans were here, they sent a carrot of tobacco to each village except his, saying they knew him to be too good an Englishman to be induced to join them. The Little Corbeau said he was quite proud of the honor they did him; but as it was done with a view to despise him, he could not forget it on that account, and the only means of retaliation he had, was to make his young men take a few scalps, which he would have done before the Spring.

Friday, Sept. 16th.—Got word of some Puants having killed an ox, and that they were drying the meat a short distance below the entrance to the Ouisconsin. By allowing them to go on in this way without trying to prevent it, they would in a short time destroy all the cattle in this region, and leave us destitute of provisions, I therefore, ordered Lieut. Brisbois, of the Indian Dep't., with one interpreter and four men, to go to their lodge and take whatever meat they had, and order them away.

Fort McKay, Sept. 16, 1814.

Lieut. Brisbois—

Sir:—Some Puants, camped a short distance below the entrance of the Ouisconsin, having, in defiance of the orders they have received to the contrary, killed, within this day or two, an ox belonging to a citizen of this place, you are requested to go immediately, with one interpreter and four of the Volunteers, to order them away from this, and take what beef they may have remaining. Yours, etc.,

Thos. G. Anderson, Capt. Com'd'g.

At six, Lieut. Brisbois returned bringing with him a little dried meat, and some tallow. I gave the meat to those that had been

to bring it, and the tallow I kept for the use of the guns. Lieut. Brisbois brought word that the Puants expected to have been taken, and confined in the garrison. They said they were surprised that we complained that they killed an ox; that we would be more surprised when their Father arrived from Mackinaw, for then they would neither leave an ox, cow, or horse in the village.

Saturday, Sept. 17th.—Lieut. Graham, when at Rock River, found some of the Missouri Indians there, who came with an intention to see the Superintendent; and finding that they behaved themselves so well in the action, he promised them some trifling articles from the King's store. I, accordingly, mustered what I could, and set off interpreter, Guillroy, with them, ordering, at the same time, that he should remain with the Sauks in case any news should be received of the enemy's coming up, to get occular information, and immediately to bring me word.

Sunday, Sept. 18th.—At ten, assembled the troops as usual, and read to them the contents of Lieut. Col. McDouall's letter as far as it regarded them. I then spoke to them in the following manner: "After reading the contents of Lieut. Col. McDouall's letter to you as far as it regards Michigan Fencibles, Volunteers, etc., I now take the opportunity to thank the detachments in general that defeated the eight American gun-boats at the Rock River, for their good and spirited conduct during their absence from this place, and do not make the smallest doubt but they will receive the thanks of Lieut. Col. McDouall. I also take this opportunity of explaining to you all, the orders of the day, in which you will find the demands made upon the different corps; and as it is for the preservation of this place in general, and for the good of His Majesty's service, I have not the smallest doubt but my demands will be executed without a murmur. From your good conduct, and attention to your duties since the Michigans and Volunteers so nobly possessed themselves of this fort, and delivered the citizens of this place from an enemy, the presence of which was most aggravating to them, I have every reason to believe I shall not be under the necessity of going to extremities, a most disagreeable task to one who wishes his fellow-soldiers and Volunteers everything that is good and glorious."

At twelve, a Sioux woman from above, brought word, that a party of Gens de Feuille, with some Yanctons of the Riviere des Moines, numbering about forty men, were near the Feuille's village, destined for the war-path; but they did not know where the Feuille, or Leaf, was; and having been notified not to go alone, he went with his warriors to know what were the intentions of this party. No news since.

About two o'clock, hearing that Winosheek, an old Puant, was in possession of a pipe and wampum for the Sioux, I inquired what was the intention of it. The old man brought it to my room, and showed it to me, saying it was to ask permission of the Sioux to winter on their lands between this and the Riviere des Sioux; not to go to war on the Sotrax [Sauteurs, or Chippewas], but, on the contrary, to request all Indians, of what nation soever, to join hands, and not allow an American to come this far. How true this is, I know not.

Monday, Sept. 19th.—Five Sauks arrived about ten o'clock with news that the enemy were at the entrance of the Riviere des Moines, but uncertain what were their number, or whether they were making a fort, or on their way up here. I, therefore, await interpreter Guillroy's return, to decide what I will do—whether to go and meet them, or wait their arrival here. At 12, set off interpreter Renville to notify the Sioux to keep themselves in readiness, and to assemble from the Prairie a La Crosse downwards to hunt till further orders.

Tuesday, Sept. 20th.—Nothing of consequence. A party of militia at work at the fort. Engaged Charles La Pointe at ten shillings a day to oversee and finish the doubling of some part of the garrison [pickets] where they are weak. The three guns kept constantly drilling. Bought a horse to draw the six-pounder.

Wednesday, Sept. 21st.—At two P. M., the barge arrived from Portage with the ordnance stores, and powder and tobacco for the Indian Department. A case of round shot for the three-pounder wanting, and nearly a keg of powder; and one-third of a roll tobacco belonging to the Indian Department missing. About four in the afternoon six Renards, of the Barboulliers'

band, arrived from above to learn the news. They brought a pipe, and the following speech from the Barboullier:

"My Father, why have you not confidence in me? I am yours. In everything you do, I wish to be with you. I can only die once, and the only death I look for is alongside of you. I expected you would have sent me word to tell me the enemy were coming up. I send you my pipe to tell you my ideas, and at the same time to know yours.

My Father, if there are any bad birds, do not, I beg of you, number me with them. I have hold of your hand, and will never let it slip; but will follow your road as long as I live. Send me word what you intend doing. I am ready to follow you. When I went to meet the bad dogs last time at the Rock River, I had but a few mouthfuls to give my warriors, but now I have really too much—what might make a good feast. My young men are numerous, stout, and hungry."

I replied: "My brethren you must not call me Father. You have only one Father in this country, that is the Red Head, Robert Dickson, the others are all your brethren. The moment that the Sauks arrived from below, and told me they had seen the enemy, they supposed, on their way up here, I sent off an interpreter with them to inform all the Indians he should see on his way up, till he should meet the Little Corbeau, of the news the Sauks brought. At the same time, to request all to repair to Prairie a la Crosse, to await the return of interpreter Guillroy, whom I sent down some days ago to gain certain information of the enemy. That on his return, I would again send and notify all the Indians whether I would go, and meet the enemy below, or await them here; and that I had not the smallest doubt, from their courageous conduct heretofore, but they would be all ready at a moment's warning. I then informed them of the news from Mackinaw, etc. Capt. Dease gave them a little powder and tobacco, and they went off at seven o'clock in the evening. In the course of the day, I went out to the inhabitants to purchase flour, but could procure none. There are only two days rations of that article in the garrison.

Thursday, Sept. 22nd.—Capt. Dease assembled the inhabitants at this place, and appealed to them to try and procure flour. Want of horses, mills and time were the reasons they gave for not supplying that article. They promised to furnish what they can spare as fast as possible; but not with that energy generally shown by British subjects on the like occasions. Capt. Dease preferred to go with ammunition to the Sauks.

Friday, Sept. 23rd.—Capt. Dease set off at nine o'clock in the morning with three men, accompanied by Thomas, the Sauk chief. Fired a few rounds from the guns to practice.

Sunday, Sept. 25th.—Assembled the troops as usual, and immediately after went out and practiced at the target. Shot six rounds with the six-pounder, five with each of the three-pounders, and five with a swivel. Confined Demairaix, a Michigan private for refusing to do his duty when on fatigue, and one of the Volunteers, for absolutely refusing to mount guard. Mr. Duncan Campbell made the best shot at the guns.

Monday, Sept. 26th.—Two men of the Volunteers, Kennet and Grignon, were confined to the guard-house by the officer of the day, for fighting when on guard. Established a court of inquiry to be held to investigate the conduct of the men in the guard-room. Not being able to inflict corporal punishment, this method is adopted in case they are found guilty and merit punishment: They will be detained in confinement till an occasion offers to send them to Mackinaw. At twelve, the court of inquiry not finding Demairaix and Grignon guilty of the crimes they were charged with, I had them released.

Tuesday, Sept. 27th.—At ten, a court-martial was held, when Pierre Emare, private in the Volunteers, was found guilty of neglect of duty in refusing to mount guard; but the court after condemning him to be sent to Mackinaw in irons, to lose his pay from the time of his engagement, and to lose his share of the prize money, recommended him to the mercy of the Commanding officer. Finding his crime proceeded entirely through ignorance, and in consequence of his former good conduct, I ordered him to be released from confinement tomorrow morning, and return to his duty. At two, a canoe arrived from below, with six

Renards, among them Bardack, a chief, with news that the Americans, seen at the Riviere des Moines, were those driven back from the Rock River, who put ashore to bury some of their dead.

They also complained hard of Capt. Dease not giving them any powder on his way down. They also came to inquire about a report circulating amongst them, that the Sioux were assembled to go to war against the Renards and Sauks. This report was fabricated by the bands of the Jeune Homme, or Young Man, and Tonnerre Noir, or Black Thunder, Renard Yankee chiefs, to irritate those nations against the Sioux, and by this means to disaffect our Sauks and Renards. I contradicted the report, and told them it sprung from the Little Corbeau having sent word to the Tonnerre Noir and Jeune Homme, when they heard of his coming down the river, to be out of the way, for his Father at Mackinaw told him to cut down everything American that he found in the road, no matter what color or size. In the evening interpreter Renville arrived from above. The Little Corbeau, with one hundred of his warriors, would not remain above to hunt, lest his presence might be necessary here sooner than word could reach him from me. He, therefore, will be here tomorrow, and appears to be determined to remain till his Father arrives from Mackinaw.

Wednesday, Sept. 28th.—At eleven o'clock, the Little Corbeau arrived with one hundred men and their families. With all his young men, he called upon me, gave me a soldier's pipe and every assurance of his fidelity, and insists, that when Robert Dickson arrives, he will go to work with his warriors, to exterminate what Indians about here that adhere to the Americans. It was with much difficulty that the Feuille or Leaf with the assistance of Mr. Renville, who I sent up for that purpose, prevented Little Corbeau's falling upon the Renards above this. However, he promises to be quiet till his Father, Robert Dickson, arrives; then he, with the Feuille, will insist upon beginning with the Gens de la Feuille.

I only said to him, that his having been to Mackinaw, rendered it unnecessary for me to give him any advice, or tell him his Father's orders; but requested him not to permit his young men to

injure the people here in killing what few Americans yet remain. The Bardack, or Renard, that I yesterday requested to remain to hear the news from the Little Corbeau himself, being present, he told them that what he had said respecting the American Indians was true; but as to speaking in general terms against others, he intended to say, that he regarded every Indian and white soldier, no matter of what color, as long as they were British subjects as his brother—the rest his inveterate enemies, and would act with the greatest vigor towards both accordingly. He then said: "I wish to talk with my friend, the Bardack; but as I am only on a visit in the house of a brother soldier, I can say nothing; however, I will thank you not to go away today, and I will do myself the pleasure to invite you and talk over the affairs of our nations in general, at my own wigwam or lodge." I gave them each a glass of whisky, and among the whole, forty loaves of bread, which I got with much difficulty.

THURSDAY, Sept. 29th.—At about three in the morning, it began to rain excessively, and thundered and lightened very much. At ten, the Little Corbeau sent for me to visit his lodge with the Renards. He related to the Renards all the talks he had got from his Father, saying he looked upon all people, no matter of what nation, so long as they were British subjects, as his brethren. "I sent word," said he, "to the Renards, at the Riviere des Ayovois [Iowas], when they heard of my coming down, to be out of the way, that my Father told me to strike everything American that came in my way; but the soldier you see here, together with the advice of the Feuille, have made me withhold my war-club till my Father arrives; then if he says, strike, I will do so with the greatest good will and violence; and if he tells me to withhold it, I will do it, but never without his request. My opinion is, the nearer we are related, the better we ought to love each other; and when relations fall out, our revenge ought to be the more violent." Presenting the Renards with a pipe, he said: "Take this soldier's pipe, and report to all the Sauks and Renards my discourse and my determination, and tell them from me that it is not a good time to be idle or sporting, but every man must follow my example. If any

are my enemies, let them show themselves, and let my friends do the same."

He then gave them the pipe, and we ate a mouthful, after which the Renards answered as follows: "As to my Father's talks, we know that all that comes from his mouth is true and good. In every village we find some fools. I have frequently spoken to our relations, the Jeune Homme and Tonnerre Noir, but have not been able to bring them to reason. I shall go to-morrow with your pipe, and deliver them your discourse. I hope they may open their ears; but let the consequence be what it may, this is the last time I shall counsel them. If they listen to me, so much the better; but if they absolutely persist in evil conduct, and will not leave it in our Father's power to give life to their women and children, I shall then be ready with you to follow our Father's directions. I have killed Americans, and am always awake, with my *cass-tete* or tomahawk in my hand for that purpose."

I then told them I was happy to see them give such friendly proofs of their relationship, and that as long as they continued in the same sentiments they should not want; that I was not left here to give advice, or counsel, with my red brethren, but to take care of this fort and the people about it; that I listened to everything that was going forward, and wrote it down, that their Father might see it, and that I had not the smallest doubt but their Father would be pleased with their present discourse. I then turned to the Renards, and told them when they heard the Little Corbeau speak, they heard the talk of the whole Sioux nation, and that he must be respected and hearkened to.

Friday, September 30th.—Nothing material, except that two men, having been out hunting, saw three Puant lodges at the entrance of the Ouisconsin, who told them that they had heard by other Indians that Robert Dickson was near the Portage, and that the Puants were assembling at the Portage to meet him.

Saturday, October 1st.—At seven, Duncan began to make the chimneys. He is to have a man to assist him continually, and to get four hundred livres for each chimney, to be finished the 15th, and should be supplied with one hundred pounds of pork, and

three pounds of powder. At eight, two men, by the names of Pierre Vasseur and Jacques Hebert, were confined to the guard-house; also a man by the name of Pierre Provancall, of the Volunteers, the two former for having got out of the fort, through a port-hole after eight o'clock at night, the latter for having fallen asleep on his post when on guard; the whole to be examined on Monday next before a court of inquiry, to be appointed for that purpose. It appears that Pierre Vasseur made use of mutinous language in the fort. At twelve, a Folle Avoine arrived from the Portage, who brought word that an express had arrived there ten days ago, with news, that Robert Dickson was at the Bay, when the courier from the Bay left that place; that he was bringing a great number of barges and soldiers, and that no word was mentioned of the Puants.

Sunday, October 2nd.—The troops assembled as usual; practiced firing; fifteen shots were fired; only one struck the target; Manaiger, a private of the Michigans, made the best shots.

Monday, October 3rd.—All hands on fatigue. The Sioux played at the crosse all day; several got sore wounds from the ball and the hurl sticks. At seven, Antoine Brisbois arrived with a boat load of corn. Rained excessively.

Tuesday, Oct. 4th.—Nothing new. Got word that the Renards from above wished to come and deliver themselves up. This proceeds from the Little Corbeau's threats, and the same time having given a pipe to the Bardack, telling him his determination, as soon as his Father arrives, to begin and strike on all those that are the American's friends. The Jeune Homme arrived in the village, but did not show himself where I was. The Sioux continued playing at the crosse. Yesterday we buried an old woman by the name of Marie. She died the night before last. She had been poisoned. A great loss to this village, she being an excellent old doctress, particularly for children. She was of the Sioux nation, but had been a long time amongst the white people. Hazy weather.

Wednesday, Oct. 5th.—Several canoes of Renards arrived from above. Called upon me with their flag twisted, in consideration of the Little Corbeau's pipe. I gave them my hand, and

at the same time told them the reason why I did so. The Sioux finished playing at the crosse. It is with the greatest difficulty the Commissary procures provisions for the troops.

Thursday, Oct. 6th.—A beautiful morning. At nine o'clock one canoe with six men, arrived from the Feuilles' band for a little powder and tobacco. Though much in want of those articles, I have none to give them, and Capt. Dease's long stay below obliges them to return in the morning without this very necessary assistance.

Friday, Oct. 7th.—The Feuilles' young men did not depart, in expectations that Capt. Dease would return. At twelve, released Pierre Vasseur and Jacques Hebert from the guard-house, as also Pierre Provancall; but confined them to the square on hard labor, the first for eight days, the second for six days, and the last for four days. The numerous Indian tribes about the village, quite destitute of tobacco and ammunition, are, in a manner, in distress, and Robert Dickson's arrival is much wished for by all ranks and colors.

Saturday, Oct. 8th.—Capt. Dease's unexpected long absence obliges me to order Lieut. Graham to issue a little tobacco to the Sioux, who are absolutely in want.

Fort McKay, Oct. 8, 1814.

Lieut. Graham—

Sir:—The absolute necessity the Sioux are in for that article, and Capt. Dease's long absence, makes it necessary for me to order that you will immediately issue to Little Corbeau, twenty pounds of tobacco, of that which Capt. Dease left in your charge, to be distributed in the Feuille and Little Corbeau's bands, as they think proper. I am, etc.,

Thos. G. Anderson, Capt. Com'd'g.

Sunday, October 9th.—At eight, yesterday morning, Capt. Dease arrived from below. Brought interpreter Guillroy with him, who had been at the American fort at the Rapids of the Riviere des Moines, and brings word that they have built a fort exactly opposite that river; that it is about fifty yards square; that they saw three men about the fort, two of whom he supposed were looking for honey; the other was about their boats. They have uncovered their boats for lumber to cover their houses.

Some of the Volunteers refused to take corn for their rations;

and when the troops were all assembled, I ordered those that had refused their rations, out of the ranks, took away their guns, and forbid every person giving them any support, or, at their peril to harbor them and gave orders to the officers of the Indian Department to tell the Indians, that if any of them were found any distance from here, to bring them back, dead or alive. They were much surprised at the sentence, and immediately wished to apologize for it, but I would not hear them. I, at the same time, thanked the others for not allowing themselves to be led into such a disgraceful plot.

Monday, Oct. 10th.—Capt. Dease distributed powder and tobacco to the starving Indians here about; and in order to provide flour for the garrison, he at the same time was under the absolute necessity of exchanging powder for that article. The inhabitants not being able to thrash their wheat for the want of time, I was obliged to exempt them from working at the garrison.

Tuesday, October 11th.—Employed the day in writing letters to Mackinaw, etc.:

Prairie du Chien, Fort McKay, October 11, 1814.

Lieut.-Col. R. McDouall—

Sir:—I have the honor to communicate to you, that yesterday a discovering party, I had sent off sometime ago, returned with news that five of the eight gun-boats, that were driven back from the Rock River (the other three are supposed to have continued their route to St. Louis), are at the entrance of the Riviere des Moines; and the Americans have built a fort there, on the east side of the Mississippi, about one hundred and forty leagues from this, and about half way from this to St. Louis, two leagues below the fort of the Rapids. Interpreter Guillroy, who headed this party of eight Sauks, reports to have been within musket shot of the fort for a whole day, and discovered three men, two of which he supposed were looking for honey; and wishing to take them prisoners, prevailed upon the Indians not to fire upon them. By this means they unfortunately made their escape. The third man was walking about the boat, all of which they have uncovered, and made use of the boards to cover their houses.

The fort is about fifty yards square, and is picketed in with very large oak pickets, about twelve feet high, and is situated on a high hill that terminates at the water side, where their boats are hauled up. They have cleared all the trees and brush from the back part of their fort to the distance of musket shot; but in front, to the water side, they have left a thick wood standing, I suppose to cover their going for water. At the north side of their fort, about seven or eight hundred yards distance, is a small hill or elevation, which

rather exceeds the fort in height, and entirely covers the approach of troops till the extremity of the hill is attained. The Mississippi at this place is about ten or twelve hundred yards wide, and clear from islands. From the expeditious manner in which they have forwarded their work in so short a time, I am led to believe they must be about five hundred strong. What their real plan is, I cannot say; but I conceive their object is to assemble a strong force, with a large supply of provisions, and either to attempt to come up here this Fall late, or make a grand attack in the Spring, and use every means to destroy the Indian tribes on the borders of the Mississippi.

A Pottawotamie Indian, having been taken prisoner some time ago by the Americans, made his escape about the time the eight gun-boats left St. Louis for this place, and reported to the Sauks, that an expedition of five hundred men left St. Louis at the same time, with the eight gun-boats, to proceed up the Missouri[1] under a pretence of friendship with our Indians on that river, offer them terms of accommodation, give them a few goods, and at the moment the Indians would be distributing the goods among themselves, the Americans were to fall upon them, and cut them to pieces. This was also the plan they were to have adopted at the Rock River, when they hoisted their white flag. This news, coming by an Indian to the other nations, has a good effect, because it is firmly believed; and convinces them what dastardly enemies they have to contend with; and did the Americans really wish or intend to come to terms with them, the Indians will be too apprehensive of treachery, to admit them to come to a parley.

There is not the smallest doubt but the enemy aim at this place, and their first object will be (as they have now no hopes of making peace or destroying the Indians by their vile stratagems) to drive them, if possible, off the borders of the Mississippi, to insure for themselves a free passage or communication with their boats to this place. This object obtained, they would with ease overcome our Indians, and in a short time make themselves very formidable here. To obviate this, I take the liberty to observe that our Indians ought to be amply supplied with ammunition; and some troops with a heavy gun would be indispensably necessary to destroy their gun-boats, and make a breach in their forts.

The forts they build are constructed in such a manner, that three or four hundred men knock up one in the course of three weeks, composed of wood, earth and stone, so strong as to bid defiance to the small guns that are here; and without regular troops to cover the guns, and to show the example in scaling or making a breach, no attacking party can hope for success. For this purpose, in my opinion, a twenty-four pound carronade, being light, would be the most proper gun.

Our troops here are now on rations of corn one day, and flour and pork the next: but the latter will, in a few days, be at an end. There are still a few

[1] Lieut. Col. Henry Dodge's expedition up the Missouri, against a band of hostile Miamies, September, 1814, capturing 152. L. C. D.

cattle remaining; but I think it advisable to keep them for the present in case of an attack. The numerous bands of Indians that are daily assembling here, are anxious for Robert Dickson's arrival, not only in hope of receiving supplies of ammunition, etc., to support them during the Winter, but in hopes there may be an expedition sent down the Mississippi. The satisfaction afforded the Indians on hearing Robert Dickson's talk to them through Capt. Dease, was very great, and animated them exceedingly.

The mechanics I have employed about the garrison, etc., being poor people that live by their daily labor, I get them paid at short intervals by Mr. Brisbois, who has been very obliging in that way, and has furnished everything in his power for the use of the Government. I am particularly under obligations to him for furnishing flour to the troops during the time the inhabitants were getting in their harvest. The militia in general have been attentive, and have assisted, when occasion required, to work at the garrison. The crop of wheat, and Indian corn, has, by no means, been so good as was expected; and if the troops are all obliged to winter here, there will be a deficiency of those articles.

Four Sauks have this moment arrived from the Rock River, and report that a party of their nation, and Kickapoos, that had been at war on the Missouri, returned six days ago to their village. After having attacked an American gun-boat about thirty leagues below the Riviere des Moines, and could make nothing of it, they proceeded to the Missouri, where they took two scalps and on their way back, saw six gun-boats coming up, but cannot say whether they are destined for the fort at Cap au Gris, twenty leagues above St. Louis, or the one at the Riviere des Moines. The Sauks, since Capt. Dease took them the supply of gunpowder, are daily detaching themselves by small parties to lay in wait for the workmen about the new fort.

On examining the ordnance stores, sent out by Lance Corporal Haywood, there proves a deficiency of a whole case of three pound round shot, thirty rounds less than mentioned in Sergeant Pilmore's account. I take the liberty to enclose to you three different lists of officers and men that were here present, or on command, on the 24th of July, the 24th of August, and the 24th of September, and remark in the margin at what dates certain officers and men left this place. Not having the regular forms to make out the pay lists, etc., I trouble you with those lists to give an idea of the forces here.

The principal expenditures have been for mechanics, flour, and Indians, the whole of which will not exceed three hundred and fifty pounds currency, the exact amount of which I will transmit as soon as I get the regular form. This garrison is much in want of a flag, and the articles of war. I have the honor to be, etc.,

THOS. G. ANDERSON, Capt. Com'd'g.

WEDNESDAY, Oct. 12th.—Raining all day excessively, prevented Lieut. Graham's marching.

THURSDAY, Oct. 13th.—Weather cleared up at ten, and at four in the afternoon Lieut. Graham set off. In the evening, he having forgot some things, sent back a man with interpreter Berthe.

Friday, Oct. 14th.—Nothing of consequence, except that the vagabond, the Tonnerre Noir, arrived. He neither showed his flag, nor called upon me.

Saturday, Oct. 15th.—Having borrowed a keg of gunpowder some days ago from Mr. Giard, for use in case of necessity, and finding no other means of encouraging the farmers to make flour, I gave it to Capt. Dease to exchange for flour or other provisions.

Sunday, Oct. 16th.—Practicing at the target was the means of expending much ammunition, left it off; but had the men drilled. In the evening two Folles Avoine women arrived from Green Bay, one month on the passage. They say Robert Dickson was to be at the Bay about the 1st of October; that he was bringing with him a number of Court Oreilles, all the Folles Avoines, and upwards of one hundred soldiers; that the Nancy had taken two American vessels, and that the Sarcel was the first Indian that got on board, for which he got a wampun collar.

Monday, Oct. 17th.—Began the northeast Block-House. The Renards made a straw man, or a man of straw, and challenged the Sioux to strike upon him, which they did and gave them a number of their arms, utensils, and fineries. Bought six cords of wood from Champegne which I have not yet paid him for. In the evening Lieut. Graham returned, bringing with him Mr. Rolette, from Mackinaw, who brought me letters from Col. McDouall, etc. As time will not admit of my copying they are filed in the desk.

Tuesday, Oct. 18th.—Began to write letters, to send off Lieut. Graham with them. At four o'clock in the afternoon, fired a royal salute for the good news from Mackinaw.

Wednesday, Oct. 19th.—As I received orders from Col. McDouall to discharge the Green Bay Volunteers, I did so. I got money from Mr. Rolette to pay them off. I issued a proclamation that neither provisions nor lead should go out of this post, knowing that an order was sent here from Green Bay, and the demands we had for those articles for the Government, were my reasons.

Thursday, Oct. 20th.—The Little Corbeau called a council, when he notified us that part of the Sioux were going to return

home. Mr. Dease, knowing that I had received four kegs of gunpowder for the Indians, asked me for one to give the returning Sioux. Finding it requisite, I consented, and gave it to him. Explained to them in a few words what Col. McDouall had ordered me to do. Finished my dispatches for Mackinaw. My letters being too long to copy I have filed them with other papers.

Friday, Oct. 21st.—Louison Berthe, interpreter in the Indian Department having been confined some days ago by order of Capt. Dease, for having refused to obey orders requested to speak with me, or to get permission to come and apologize for his past bad conduct. I sent him word I had nothing to do with him.

Sunday, Oct. 23d.—Assembled the troops as usual, and informed them that they were to be mustered and paid off tomorrow.

Monday, Oct. 24th.—Mustered the troops, and paid the Volunteers up to the 24th inst., Mr. Rolette having furnished the necessary money for that purpose.

Tuesday, Oct. 25th.—Paid off the detachment of Michigan Fencibles up to the 24th inst., Mr. Rolette having furnished the necessary money for that purpose.

Wednesday, Oct. 26th.—Capt. Dease having received a letter from Mr. Dickson, Agent and Superintendent of the western nations, wherein he mentions to him to allow no persons to interfere with him with respect to the Indians, I gave up to him everything in my charge belonging to the Indian Department, for which I received his receipt.

Thursday, Oct. 27th.—Mr. Rolette having, since his arrival, kept selling rum to the troops, etc., I was under the necessity of putting up a proclamation forbidding the sale of spirituous liquors; for as long as this custom of allowing the men to get drunk lasts, nothing can be done about the fort. Mr. Aird arrived in the evening.

Friday, Oct. 28th.—Mr. Aird brought news that Lieut. Graham was promoted to Captain in the Indian Department, and Sergt. Keating as a Lieutenant in the Provincial Volunteer Artillery, but as this was only verbal, I made no orders on that score.

Saturday, Oct. 29th.—Mr. Rolette having been ordered to

supply one of his horses for fatigue today at the fort, and refusing to obey the order, Capt. Dease requested me to send a guard for the horse, which I did, because Mr. Rolette having refused, showed a bad example, and prevented a number of the inhabitants that were ordered today from doing their duty.

Sunday, Oct. 30th.—In the evening a party of Renards from below, at the Riviere au D'Inde,[1] brought some deer meat, which they disposed of in the village.

Monday, Oct. 31st.—Mr. Aird having brought with him a keg of wine tapped it the day after his arrival, and was very obliging, it being an article not common in this place, in making almost a general business of it, till there was no more. Today the Commissary got quite drunk, and was very abusive to every person, no matter who. A drunken man is always annoying to a sober one, and as Mr. Honore came into my house quite drunk, with an intention to be as abusive to me as to others, I put him out of doors; and as I had not drank a drop of liquor for some days, I could not put up with his abuse, and sent for the guard to take him away; but before the guard arrived, he was conveyed to his quarters.

Tuesday, Nov. 1st.—Being All Saints' Day, no work was done. Three Puants arrived from Ouisconsin. No news.

Wednesday, Nov. 2d.—Put up an advertisement to procure wood and candles for the use of the garrison, as the season is advancing fast. Mr. Honore persisting in his obstinancy, I was under the necessity of depriving him of his employment as Commissary, for which purpose I wrote him a note, desiring him to deliver everything he had belonging to the Commissary Department, and deliver it to Lieut. Brisbois.

Thursday, Nov. 3d.—Rainy weather has been a great detriment to advancing the work of the fort.

Friday, Nov. 4th.—Mr. Rolette sent off a barge to get provisions, to accomplish which, I was obliged to let him have six men of the Volunteers.

---

[1] Turkey River a tributary of the Mississippi, about thirty miles below Prairie du Chien, on the Iowa side of the stream. On Mellish's map, of 1816, a Renard or Fox village is noted on the upper side of Turkey River, at its mouth.
L. C. D.

Saturday, Nov. 5th.—Three men of the Volunteers got permission to return to their homes. Bought them a canoe, and gave them rations. To conduct them, interpreter Honore got permission, with John Campbell, to accompany them till they meet Robert Dickson.

Sunday, Nov. 6th.—Nothing of consequence.

Monday, Nov. 7th.—Tried every means to purchase wood for the fort. Mr. Rolette having offered to take the contract at the extravagant rate of twenty shillings per cord of wood delivered here, I deferred entering into the contract till I got very particular information from every individual about the place.

Tuesday, November 8th.—Got a calash, and went out to the farms, to try and get the wood necessary for the fort, contracted for in small quantities to give an opportunity to every person of gaining something during the winter; but not finding any person that would undertake even a cord, I was obliged to contract with Mr. Joseph Rolette for three hundred cords, at twenty shillings per cord.

Wednesday, Nov. 9th.—Being ration day, and the contractor having nothing but bustards, the Michigans did not wish to take one pound of that meat for their day's rations. However, as it is good, wholesome food, and agreeable to Mr. Rolette's contract with the Government, they were obliged to accept it.

Thursday, Nov. 10th.—Nothing new. Continual rain and cold.

Friday, Nov. 11th.—John Campbell, who went from this place with interpreter Honore to meet Mr. Dickson, returned, saying he had been to the Portage and getting no news of the reinforcement, therefore returned.

Saturday, Nov. 12th.—Violent rain. The Little Corbeau called a council, and meditated going off; but Mr. Dease and myself thinking it best that his band should remain a few days longer, in case Mr. Dickson should arrive, and might be wanted, they agreed to stay, and Mr. Dease gave them twelve bushels of corn, and forty loaves of bread.

Sunday, Nov. 13th.—At twelve, three men, of the Gens de la Feuille, arrived under the "Buffalo that Plays;" they were received as secret enemies, and got no assistance from us.

Monday, November 14th.—A Folle Avoine canoe arrived, and told us Mr. Dickson would probably be here in two or three days.

Tuesday, November 15th.—A violent storm of rain all day. Nothing new.

Wednesday, November 16th.—Cold north wind. Not able to plaster in the fort.

Thursday, November 17th.—Continued very cold. Being ration day, I ordered one and a half pounds bustard meat be issued; one pound of that meat not by any means being equal to that quantity of venison or beef. Bought a keg of high wines of Mr. Brisbois, at fourteen dollars the gallon, so by reducing it to be able to give, in this cold weather, a gill of whisky to each man on fatigue, etc.

Friday, November 18th.—Paid the masons for making two chimneys, £49, 16s., 8d. At ten, three Sauk canoes arrived, bearing each a flag. They are all in winter quarters at the Riviere des Ayouais; that is part, of three different nations, Sauks, Kickapoos, and Renards. They bring word that the American fort, at the foot of the Riviere des Moines Rapids, was abandoned about the 20th of October. The Americans had burnt the fort, and proceeded to the Illinois.

Saturday, November 19th.—Continual rain and cold. A report was spread that the Sauks had turned against us; and that those seventeen Sauks that arrived on the 18th were come with an intention to take away the women from this place. After making every inquiry, found the report to be groundless.

Sunday, November 20th.—At ten, the Sauks called a council, when they pressed very hard to get a trader to their village; but we told them we were not masters of the traders, and, at any rate, there was only one, who bought a few goods merely to support the troops of this post; but I was in daily expectation of seeing their Father, when no doubt they would receive ample support for the winter. But in the event of their Father's not coming, I would even go so far as to take powder from the big guns, to assist them.

Monday, Nov. 21st.—Last evening, the Feuille, with twenty-

one of his young men, arrived, in hopes of seeing Mr. Dickson. This evening twenty of the Gens de la Feuilles arrived—bad Indians, rather American inclined.

Tuesday, Nov. 22d.—Called a council of all the Indians and whites here, wherein I told the traders to sell no powder to the Gens de la Feuilles; that in the event of Mr. Dickson's not coming, we should want all the powder the traders had, to furnish a little to our allies. The Feuille and Little Corbeau both spoke and approved of what I had done, and abused the Gens de la Feuilles very much for their bad conduct in adhering to the Americans.

Wednesday, Nov. 23d.—The Little Corbeau called a council of all the Sauks, Kickapoos and Renards present, and gave them a pipe, assuring them of his friendship towards them, and his determination to support them in the war against the Americans.

Anderson's Military Orders

Fort McKay, 1814.

In case of an alarm, two shots will be fired from the six-pounder, when every man, the militia not excepted, will immediately repair to the garrison.

When any British flag arrives, or leaves this post, a swivel will be fired to salute such flag, unless otherwise ordered by the Commanding officer.

August 11th.—Ordered that an interpreter, and twelve of the Volunteers, go off early tomorrow morning, in order to bring up the barges that went adrift from this place, and, according to Indian reports, are lying on sand-banks a few leagues below. Seven men of the Michigan Fencibles, with the artillery men, take lessons at the cannon daily, that is, immediately after parade, at six o'clock in the morning and before parade in the evening. Three of the Michigans will be daily employed in making leaden balls for the guns and swivels. One of the officers, taken from the roster, with three interpreters, militia, or privates, will do patrol duty every night. The patrol will be appointed by the officer of the

day and will walk around the village every two hours during the night, and will take up any stragglers that may be going about after —— o'clock, no matter who or what he may be, unless he can give the counter-sign.

A counter-sign is to be given every night, by the commanding officer, to such officers as he may think necessary, and to the officer of patrol, and Sergeant of the Guard. Any officer or private, to whom the Commanding officer may give the counter-sign, on being convicted of having divulged it to any person whatever, will be immediately put in close confinement, and kept there till an opportunity offers to send him into Mackinaw for his trial, as the enormity of the crime would be out of the reach of any court-martial that can be held here for the present.

August 12th.—No Indian, man, woman, or child, will be allowed to enter the fort without orders from the Commanding officer. This is ordered in consequence of there being, among the Renards particularly, many Indians who are bad subjects, and cannot be distinguished by some of the officers of the day.

August 13th.—The absolute necessity of lending every assistance to save the harvest, makes it absolutely requisite to allow the farmers to keep at their work, and not to assemble, as ordered, tomorrow at ten o'clock; but they will make it a point to appear under arms every Sunday after this, at ten o'clock in the morning, before the fort door, unless some urgency may require it to be otherwise ordered.

August 14th.—Lieut. Brisbois having brought word that a fine large American boat, covered as a gun-boat, was lying a little above Fort Madison, on the shore quite near the water, ordered that Lieut. Graham, with one interpreter and six men, go for the barge. When they reach the Rock River, or at any time during the voyage, if Lieut. Graham gets any certain news of the enemy's approach, he will either come back himself with the men, or send back, as he finds most requisite. When he gets to the Rock River, he will give a carrot of tobacco to the chiefs, soldiers, and braves, and request of them, as many as he thinks fit to go with him, not only to assist in bringing up the barge, but to guard him against any of the Sauks, etc., that may be ill-disposed, from the

Missouri; and if he can prevail on the Indians to assist him in bringing the barge up here, they shall be well paid when the reinforcement arrives from Mackinaw; otherwise to try and run her up into the Rock River, that I can send for her from here. In case he can find no means of getting her up, he will set fire to and burn her, to prevent her falling into the enemy's hands.

August 15th.—Ordered that a fatigue party will, tomorrow, if the weather will permit, be employed in repairing a small breast-work at the lower end, and one at the upper end, of the village; and that carpenters be employed in mounting a half-pound swivel.

August 16th.—The patrol will be suspended for the present, as a party has gone down below, and will keep directly in the enemy's way; but the principal object of this is, to afford every means possible to assist in getting in the harvest. We have only a very short allowance of flour, three barrels remaining. Tomorrow the artificers will be employed in widening the passage through the fort, in order to run out the guns on three field carriages.

August 17th.—The artificers will commence, tomorrow, making scaffolds for the sentries, to elevate them above the pickets. Ordered that the Volunteers, when on guard, if they are not attentive to their duties, as sentries ought to be, shall be assigned to the same duty the next day, and so continue till they are attentive.

August 18th.—Tomorrow morning at six, a party of officers and interpreters are to begin and practice the use of the three-pounder, commencing at six o'clock, until otherwise ordered, the exercise to be of two hours duration daily.

August 19th.—Ordered, that the Commissary take every means to get in flour as fast as possible. As there are no articles in the store, that will answer the inhabitants in exchange for their flour, he will give orders on Mr. Michael Brisbois, Senior, for any flour he may purchase till further orders.

August 20th.—Having the other three-pounder mounted, it is ordered that the two guns drill in brigade, twice every day, Sunday excepted, and to practice sham battles. The bombardier

will be active in getting all the guns and swivels in the highest order as expeditiously as possible.

August 21st.—Ordered that blacksmiths be employed to do such work as is necessary about the guns.

August 22nd.—Ordered, that all accounts, of flour and other articles borrowed, be settled, or made out, by the 25th inst.

August 23rd.—Ordered, that as Chesier, the blacksmith, is idle, and does not work as he ought to do, another blacksmith be employed and having no tools, will make use of Chesier's shop, etc., till the work necessary about the guns be finished.

August 24th.—Ordered, that two Lieutenants of the Indian Department, namely, Lieut. Graham and Lieut. Brisbois, and three interpreters, namely, Augustin Rock, I. B. Guillroy, Francois Bouchre *dit* La Malice, with bombardier Keating, eight Michigan Fencibles, and sixteen of the Volunteers, with a brass three-pounder, and two swivels in the gun-boat, and a barge, be all ready to march the 27th inst., on an expedition against the Americans, in order to meet them on their way up here at the Rock River, and assist the Sauk nation of Indians in the preservation of their wives and children.

Lieut. Graham will take the command. The Commissary will issue fifteen days full rations of pork, and five days full rations of flour. Interpreter Renville will leave this place early tomorrow morning, and proceed with all haste, to the chief of the Feuilles, and inform him of the expedition going below, and tell him that I request he will come down immediately, with as many of his young men as he can possibly spare, and go down and assist the Sauks; and at the same time to tell him to send word to the Little Corbeau, etc., to move this way immediately; but to remain about the Prairie a la Crosse, till further orders, and as soon as the Little Corbeau arrives there, he will send word and let me know, and Mr. Renville will return here as soon as possible.

August 25th.—Ordered, that the Sauk chief, Thomas, leave this place tomorrow morning, for the Sauks at Rock River to inform them, that an expedition will leave here on the 27th, for that place. Lieut. Graham will have everything ready to march at eight o'clock on that day. The men in general, going on the

expedition below, are destitute of shirts. It is, therefore, ordered, that the Commanding officers will give to such as he finds in absolute want, an order on Mr. Brisbois, to furnish them such necessities; and it will be deducted from their pay, when they are paid.

August 26th.—Ordered, that the Commissary augment the rations for the expedition going below, giving each man ten ounces of pork, and one and a half pounds of flour. Those that remain here, will have six ounces of pork, and two pounds of flour.

August 27th.—Ordered that —— —— do the duty of interpreter, from this date, till further orders, and that he receive the pay and allowances that other interpreters do. The Sioux and Renards will leave this place tomorrow morning, to go and join the expedition to the Rock River. The Commissary will furnish the Sioux six bushels of wheat, and the Renards four, for their provisions, till they reach the Sauks.

August 28th.—Ordered that Captain Grignon prepare himself to leave this place, tomorrow morning at ten, for Mackinaw, with dispatches, and that an interpreter go, expressly to notify the Little Corbeau's band that the enemy are coming up, and direct him to camp somewhere about the Prairie a la Crosse, till further orders. The militia having been ordered to parade at ten o'clock this morning, many of them came without guns, and some of them did not come at all. It is, therefore, ordered that when in future the militia are called out, if they do not all appear at the hour appointed, with their arms, those disobeying such orders shall be liable to a fine of fifteen dollars, to be levied on their goods and chattels, otherwise to be confined in the guard-house, during the Commanding officer's pleasure.

August 29th.—Ordered that, as Capt. Grignon is now gone, and no officer of the Bay Volunteers here, what few of his company remain be included in Capt. Anderson's company, till further orders.

August 30th.—That two men be employed sawing boards and planks for the use of the garrison.

August 31st.—Ordered that interpreter Frenier, with three men, set off tomorrow morning, to go and inform the Little Cor-

beau, as mentioned in orders of the 28th inst., lest the express the Feuille sent should fail.

SEPTEMBER 1st.—Ordered that the Commissary tell the inhabitants, if they do not be more active in making flour for the use of the troops, that men will be placed in their barns and mills by the Commanding officer to thrash and grind their wheat, for the use of the garrison. That the men so employed will be paid from the produce of their flour, and for the balance the Government will be accountable to the different individual owners.

SEPT. 2d.—Ordered, that interpreter Grignon leave this place tomorrow morning with four men to take flour to the detachment gone to the Rock River.

SEPT. 3d.—Ordered, that the Commissary exchange with the inhabitants, as often as the opportunity may offer, whiskey for flour or wheat, till further orders.

SEPT. 4th.—Ordered, that no person be allowed to go into the fort, except those accustomed to do duty, without the permission of the officer of the day.

SEPT. 5th.—Ordered, that a mare and colt, belonging to one Fontaine, a Canadian, who left here three years ago, and ever since has resided in the Illinois, be taken and broken in, for the use of the garrison.

SEPT. 6th.—Ordered, that the fort gate be shut every evening at eight o'clock; and the guards be changed at seven in the morning, till further orders.

SEPT. 7th.—Ordered, that the four Sauks, who brought letters from Lieut. Graham, leave this place tomorrow morning, to return to the Rock River.

SEPT. 14th.—Ordered, that a barge leave this place under interpreter Rock's command, with eight Volunteers, and the three men that came in the wooden canoe from the Portage, to go and bring the ordnance stores, etc. Also, that Lance Corporal Heywood be attached to the guns, under Serg't Keating, and that the officers and men, from the detachment to the Rock River, return to their duty in the garrison, as usual.

SEPT. 18th.—Ordered, that the Michigan Fencibles, and Lance Corporal Heywood of the Tenth Volunteer band, with ten Volun-

teers and seven militia, will be attached to the guns, and be drilled daily, and now and then practice firing, under Serg't Keating of the Royal Artillery. A sufficient number of men will be selected from the Volunteers and militia, as mentioned above, to man the six-pounder, and the two three-pounders. Such men will be exempt from other duty till otherwise ordered.

Ordered, that eight of the Volunteers, including one Sergeant and one Corporal, mount guard daily; that the guards be relieved at seven o'clock every morning. That the guards take up their quarters, in the garrison, for the time being, and not absent themselves, on any pretence, without the permission of the officer of the day, whose business it will be to attend when the guards are relieved, and see that all the men are as clean as circumstances will admit of; and see that they have on them a cartouch-box and bayonet, that their guns are in good order, and that the sentries are regularly relieved by the Corporal.

Ordered, that carpenters be employed, and a party of the Volunteers, when not otherwise on duty, together with a party of militia, be kept on fatigue in order to repair the fort. When any of the inhabitants or militia are ordered with a team of horses or oxen, a reasonable allowance will be made them for such team. The militia, when on fatigue (provisions being scarce), will furnish themselves with food, for which an equivalent in pay will be made them. All men on actual duty will receive one gill of whiskey per day, till otherwise ordered.

Lieut. Porlier, of the Volunteers, and Lieuts. Graham and Brisbois of the Indian Department, will each, in turn, do the duty of officer of the day, having an eye on the garrison in general, keeping everything in order, and reporting to the Commanding officer, the state of the new guards when mounted, as well as every other material circumstance coming to his knowledge.

Sept. 19th.—Ordered, that the men drilling at the guns, under Serg't Keating of the Royal Artillery, be all present, at the hours of seven o'clock in the morning, and three o'clock in the afternoon; and should any be absent, Serg't Keating will report them to the officer of the day, who will report them to the Commanding officer.

Ordered, that the Commissary attend at seven o'clock every morning at the fort, to issue rations of whiskey, agreeable to a requisition signed by the officer of the day.

Sept. 23rd.—Ordered, that four shots be fired from each of the three guns, every Sunday, till otherwise ordered. A target will be placed in a convenient place to prevent any accident, and at the same time so placed as to be able to recover the round shot.

Sept. 26th.—Ordered, that a court of inquiry be held in Fort McKay, at ten o'clock this morning to inquire into the conduct of Pierre Emerie, of the Volunteers, and Solomon Demairaix, of the Michigans, both privates, who were confined in the guard-house yesterday, for disobedience of orders. Also to examine Pierre Kennet and Pierre Grignon, Junr., both privates in the Volunteers, for quarreling and fighting while on guard this morning. The court to consist of Lieuts. Graham and Brisbois, of the Indian Department, and Lieut. Porlier, of the Volunteers, Lieut. Graham to be president.

Ordered, that no whiskey be exchanged for any other article; but what whiskey now remains will be kept for the use of the guards and fatigue parties, unless the Commissary may receive other orders from the Commanding officer.

The court of inquiry finding that Demairaix, of the Michigans, and Kennet and Grignon, of the Volunteers, who had been confined, were not guilty of a crime to merit punishment, they are therefore released from the guard-house. But Pierre Emerie, of the Volunteers, acknowledging his crime, a court-martial is ordered to be held tomorrow morning at ten o'clock for his trial. The court to consist of Lieut. Graham, of the Indian Department, president, and Lieut. Brisbois of the Indian Department, and Lieut. Porlier, of the Volunteers members.

Sept. 28th.—A court-martial, for the trial of Pierre Emerie, of the Volunteers, having been held this day, of which, Lieut. Graham was president and Lieuts. Brisbois and Porlier, members, where he, the said Emerie, was found guilty of disobedience of orders, in refusing to mount guard. The court condemned the prisoner to be sent in irons to Mackinaw, to lose his pay for the time of his service, and to lose his share of the prize money

taken in the capitulation of Fort McKay. But being recommended to the clemency of the Commanding officer, and the court being of opinion that his disobeying orders, proceeded more through ignorance, than a wish to be mutinous, the Commanding officer, therefore, orders, that he be released from confinement, and immediately return to his duty.

October 1st.—Ordered, that on Monday next, every man not on guard, etc., be employed on fatigue, to finish, as soon as possible, the repairing of the fort. Also that a court of inquiry be held on Monday next at twelve o'clock to examine into the crimes, for which Pierre Vasseur and Jacques Hebert, of the Michigans, were confined this morning, Lieut. Duncan Graham to be president, and Lieuts. Brisbois and Porlier, members.

Oct. 3rd.—Ordered, from tomorrow morning, only half rations of liquor will be issued to the troops.

Oct. 7th.—Ordered, that Pierre Vasseur and Jacques Hebert, both privates in the Michigan Fencibles, be released from the guard-house, and both confined to the square at hard labor, the former for eight days, and the latter for six days, from this date. And that Pierre Provancall, of the Volunteers, who was confined for having allowed the above mentioned Michigan Fencibles to go out of the garrison at night without leave, be released from the guard-house, and confined to hard labor in the square for four days, after which, all shall return to their duty, as soon as their respective terms of hard labor have expired.

Oct. 8th.—Ordered, that one day's rations be issued as usual to the troops, and one of hulled Indian corn; that is, every other day one quart of corn be issued, in place of pork and flour, till further orders.

Oct. 11th.—Ordered, that Lieut. Graham, with interpreter Berthe, and five men, namely, E. Piche, Bourdon, Langlois, La Honde, and Le Mire, leave this place tomorrow morning with dispatches for Mackinaw, to be delivered to Lieut. Grignon at Green Bay, from whence they will return here immediately.

Ordered, that there will be no more practicing with the guns at a target, till further orders.

Oct. 15th.—Ordered, that an ox be bought, and that four days' rations be issued at a time, that is, one pound of beef, and two pounds of flour, for one day, and one quart of corn for the second day, and so on alternately.

Oct. 18th.—Ordered, that at four o'clock this afternoon, a royal salute be fired, and that all the troops and Indians be present. Immediately after which, a council will be held to inform the troops and Indians the news from Mackinaw.[1]

Oct. 20th.—Ordered, that the troops be mustered, on the 24th inst., at ten o'clock in the morning; and on the 25th, as Mr. Rolette has offered to furnish money for that purpose, they will be paid up to the 24th.

Oct. 21st.—Ordered, that Lieut. Brisbois, of the Indian department, act as overseer of the workmen at the fort, for which he shall be entitled to receive an additional allowance of pay, until further orders, of five shillings per day.

November 3d.—Ordered, that Mr. Honore, lately acting Commissary, for which he received the pay of a Lieutenant in the Volunteers, be suspended from that duty and pay till further orders. This is ordered, from his having, when drunk, made use of most disrespectful and abusive language to the Commanding officer, in defiance of all military order and discipline.

Ordered, that Lieut. Brisbois, of the Indian Department, receive tomorrow morning of Mr. Honore, all the accounts and stores lately in his charge as Commissary, till further orders.

Nov. 6th.—Ordered, that the militia be exempt from appearing in parade in future on Sundays, till further orders.

Nov. 12th.—Ordered, that no more drilling be practiced for the present, because the men are continually on fatigue, and the rainy season has made the parade ground too muddy.

Nov. 17th.—Ordered, that a keg of high wines be bought, and

[1] This probably refers to the repulse of the Americans in their attack on that place, under Majors Croghan and Holmes, Aug. 4th, 1814: and the subsequent capture of two American vessels engaged in blockading Mackinaw, as mentioned in Lieut. Col. McDouall's letter to Capt. Anderson, Sept. 23d, 1814. L. C. D.

that the acting Commissary issue to each man on actual duty, one gill of liquor, till further orders. Also, as bustard meat is not equal in bulk or sustenance to other meat, that one and a half pounds of that meat be issued per ration, till further orders.

Nov. 28th.—Ordered, that the troops attached to this garrison, when not on duty, may, with the permission of the officers of their respective corps, be allowed to work for the inhabitants of this post, till further orders.

Pirraie du Chien Documents, 1814-15

List of Canadian Voyageurs who volunteered their services, at Mackinaw, June 21, 1814, to go to Prairie du Chien, on an expedition against the Americans.

1. Joseph Rolette.
2. Thomas G. Anderson.
3. Jos. Polvin.
4. Benjamin Roy.
5. Ed. Picke, *dit* W. G. Stursman.
6. Barnebe Sans Soisi.
7. S. St. Germain.
8. Pierre Grignon.
9. Pierre Lambert.
10. Jacques Savard.
11. Jean B. Soyer.
13. Pierre Gaustin.
14. Etienne Dyon.
15. Ant. Gauthern.
16. Amable Tourpin.
17. Jacques Lemire.
18. John Campbell.
19. Ant. Asselin.
20. P. Provancall.
21. Jean B. Emerie.
22. Baptiste Berthe.
23. Antoine Bercier.
24. Louis Provancall.
25. Francois La Chappelle.
26. Gabriel La Londe.
27. Jean M. Ducharme.
28. J. B. Faribault.
29. J. B. Parant.
30. Gabriel Danie.
31. Louis Bourdon.
32. Etienne Serare.
33. Joseph Ouitelle.
34. Luke Dubois.
35. Francois St. Maurice.
36. L. Dejrne.
37. Sol. Bellange.
38. Louis Desognier.
39. Francois Frenere.
40. Emanuel Ranger.
41. Jos. Filion.
42. Henry Fleure.
43. Colin Campbell.[1]
44. Alexis Larose.
45. Amable Gervais.
46. Jean B. Bouchard.
47. Francois Boivin.
48. Jacques Laurent.
49. Michel Gravelle.
50. Pierre Emerie.
51. Colish Veaux.
52. Antoine Felix.
53. St. B. Philip.
54. Jos. Dagenais.
55. Jos. Minette.
56. Prudent Langlois.
57. Pierre Crochier.
58. Amable J. Durans.
59. Antoine Dabin.
60. Louis Genereux.
61. Antoine Asselin.
62. Jean Tivierge.
63. Jos. Tivierge.
64. Pierre Robedeau.
65. Joseph Dechan.
66. Louis Honore.
67. Jacques Jos. Porlier.

The under named men were here present, or on command the 24th August, 1814:

Nos.	*Rank.*	*Names.*
1.	Bombardier, Royal Artillery	James Keating.
	Michigan Fencibles	
2.	Sergeant	Francis Roy.
3.	Corporal	Noel Bondvielle.
4.	Private	Pierre From.

[1] See pp. 464, 465, for note on Colin Campbell.—R. G. T.

Nos.	*Rank.*	*Names.*
5.	Private	Michel Donais.
6.	"	Louis Vasseur.
7.	"	Solomon Demairaix.
8.	"	Joseph Lariviere.
9.	"	Jacques Parisiens.
10.	"	Oliver Degerdin.
11.	"	Jacques Hebert.
12.	"	Lacenne Dupuis.
13.	"	Francois Supernant.
		CANADIAN VOLUNTEERS FROM MACKINAW
14.	Sergeant	Amable Dusang.
15.	"	Henry Fleurie.
16.	Corporal	Antoine Dabins.
17.	"	Jean B. Emerie.
18.	Private	Manuelle Pichi.
19.	"	Seraphin St. Germain.
20.	"	Pierre Lambert.
21.	"	Jacques Savard.
22.	"	Jean B. Soyer.
23.	"	Jacques Lamire.
24.	"	John Campbell.
25.	"	Antoine Asselin.
26.	"	Baptiste Berthe.
27.	"	Antoine Bercier.
28.	"	Louis Provancall.
29.	"	Francois La Chapelle.
30.	"	Gabriel or William Lalond
31.	"	Jean M. Ducharme.
32.	"	Louis Bourdon.
33.	"	Etienne Serare.
34.	"	Luke Dubois.
35.	"	Francois St. Maurice.
36.	"	Louis Dagenais.
37.	"	Solomon Bellange.
38.	"	Louis Desognier.
39.	"	Emanuel Range.
40.	"	Joseph Filion.
41.	"	Colin Campbell.
42.	"	Amable Gervais.
43.	"	Jean M. Bouchard.
44.	"	Francis Boivin.
45.	"	Jacques Laurent.
46.	"	Michel Gravelle.

Nos.	*Rank.*	*Names.*
47.	Private	Pierre Emerie.
48.	"	Antoine Felix.
49.	"	Joseph Dagenais.
50.	"	Joseph Minette.
51.	"	Prudent Langlois.
52.	"	Pierre Crochier.
53.	"	Louis Genereaux.
54.	"	Jean Tivierge.
55.	"	Joseph Tivierge.
56.	"	Pierre Robideau.
57.	"	Joseph Dechampes.

Pierre Kennet, a man that volunteered his services for his country on the 2d of August, 1814, at this place, is not included in the list sent to Mackinaw.

CANADIAN VOLUNTEERS FROM THE BAY

58.	Sergeant	Laurent Filey.
59.	Corporal	Amable Grignon.
60.	Private	Joseph Courvalle.
61.	"	Labonne Dorion.
62.	"	Alexis Crochier.
63.	"	Joseph Deneau.
64.	"	Narcisse Delaune.
65.	"	Pierre Chalifou.
66.	"	Jean B. Latouch.
67.	"	Pierre L'Allement.
68.	"	Etienne Bantiere.
69.	"	Francis Freniere.
70.	"	Pierre Grignon, Jr.
71.	"	Pierre Ochu.

Note of officers, etc., here present, or on command, the 24th of August, 1814.

Nos.	*Rank.*	*Names.*	
1.	Captain	Thos. G. Anderson, Com'd'g the Volunteers.	
2.	Lieutenant	Pierre Grignon, Sen'r.	
3.	"	Jos. Jacques Porlier.	
4.	"	Duncan Graham.	Indian Department.
5.	"	Michel Brisbois.	
6.	Interpreter	Louis Honore, Acting Commissary.	
7.	Lieutenant	Joseph Renville.	
8.	"	Jean B. Guillroy.	
9.	"	Pierre Grignon, Jun'r.	Indian Department.
10.	"	Joseph Rock, Sen'r.	
11.	"	Augustin Rock, Jun'r.	
12.	"	Francois Bouche.	
13.	Captain	Francis Dease, Prairie du Chien militia.	

The above is a correct statement of the Forces in Fort McKay, on the 24th August, 1814.

THOS. G. ANDERSON, Capt. Com'd'g.

FORT MCKAY, Sept. 18, 1814.

[Endorsed on back of the paper:]

PAUL L'ALLEMENT.
CLAUDE LAFRAMBOISE.
MICHEL ARMARD.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 23rd Sept., 1814.

To Captain Anderson:

Sir:—I have had the honor of receiving your letter of the 29th ult., by Capt. Grignon, communicating the information of the enemy's indicating an intention of attacking your post. I, however, am inclined to believe that their object for the present is confined to revenging themselves on the Sauks by an attempt to destroy their corn-fields and villages, and I am sanguine in my hopes, from the formidable body of Indians assembled at the Rock River, that it will be completely frustrated and punished, as it ought.

I greatly approve of your having sent a detachment down the river in aid of the Indian force. I am convinced, it is the best mode of defending your post; and you cannot exert yourself too much in encouraging the Sauks, and affording them every assistance that is in your power to give. By that means you keep the war at a distance; and if the proper spirit is cherished and kept up amongst the Indians, I flatter myself the enemy will not be able to force such a formidable barrier. I fear it will be difficult to preserve unanimity, and that cordial co-operation with each other which is so necessary, and yet so hard to bring about, where they are numerous. You will, of course, see the necessity of making this your constant study. The ammunition sent by Corporal Heywood will arrive very opportunely, and prove for the present a supply fully equal to the demand; but unfortunately we had neither arms nor tobacco to accompany it. I am in hopes we shall be able very soon to send supplies of those arti-

cles with Mr. Dickson, who remains here until the arrival of the Indian presents, which have been delayed in consequence of the attack and blockade of this Island. The latter inconvenience we happily got rid of, by capturing, with our detachment of seamen, assisted by soldiers from the garrison, both the vessels which the enemy left for that purpose—for us a very fortunate event, which, I trust, will enable us not only to receive our Indian goods, but an adequate supply of provisions. As I am expecting a reinforcement in the course of a week or ten days, in which, I trust, I shall not be disappointed, it will then be in my power to detach an officer and about thirty men to Fort McKay to winter.

You will observe that it will wholly depend on my getting the men which I wrote for, and fully expect. With them I shall strain every nerve to furnish you with whatever can be spared from this place, as well Indian supplies, as arms, powder and tobacco.

Mr. Rolette has contracted to supply the garrison, to the number of sixty men, with provisions for a year. When more, for any unforseen emergency, is required, it must be provided on the best terms you can procure, taking care that you strictly conform to the mode pointed out for your guidance by Mr. Asst. Dep. Com. Gen'l Monk, at this place; and that the utmost accuracy is observed in your certificates as to the number of men victualed. To enable Mr. Rolette to fulfill his contract, you will transfer to him the salt now in possession, in whatever way you deem best, as you in your capacity of Commandant, must regulate everything as will most tend to the good of the service. What chimneys, fuel, or other indispensable articles may be required, you will direct to be furnished accordingly, never deviating from the established rule of procuring everything at the most reasonable rate. Mr. Rolette has been advanced £200, on account of his contract, the terms of which are sent you, and which must be scrupulously adhered to. You will, of course, ascertain that strict justice is done to the troops; and that the bills drawn upon the Commissary here, are in conformity to the exact amount of provisions supplied.

The dissensions and disaffection, which you mention as existing among some of the Indians, must ever be expected among so many different tribes, and where the enemy are making continual efforts to seduce them. Our efforts must be as great to reclaim such as have erred; or when that cannot be effected, to take any precaution to prevent their doing mischief. But above all you must not fail to pacify the murmuring and loyal part of them, who faithfully adhere to our interest, by pointing out to them the solid advantages which cannot fail to result from a perseverance in such praiseworthy conduct; that the numerous forces and fleets of their Great Father, the king, are attacking the enemy with decided advantage along the whole of their seacoast; that in the Canadas our troops are embodied in great numbers; that the American army at Fort Erie is surrounded by the British, with scarcely the possibility of escaping, and this campaign has not only the prospect of ending gloriously, but the next still more so, there being little doubt that Detroit and Amherstburg will again fall into our hands.

You will represent these particulars to them from me, in the most impressive manner you can, telling them my firm conviction that they will oppose the most determined resistance to the shameful encroachments of the enemy, and signalize themselves in defense of their wives and children, and of the lands which they are intrusted from their forefathers. You may assure them of my doing everything in my power to support them in so just a cause, and that from the recent circumstances of our blockade, I cannot this season supply their wants as I could wish.

Yet in ammunition, it will in some measure be made up, and next year much more will be in our power. Impress strongly on their minds the important fact, that the king, their Great Father, is determined to see justice done them, and not to make peace with the enemy until their lands are restored, and complete security given, that they are not again molested or invaded.

These matters must necessarily give them courage. You will present my best wishes for their success to La Feuille and the Little Corbeau, and that I have the fullest reliance upon their zeal and courage in so just a war; and that, if necessary, they

will bring down all their young men to your assistance. I shall use every exertion to send Mr. Dickson with the Indian presents, I hope, accompanied by a detachment of troops, as soon as possible after the latter arrive. In the meantime, I send by Mr. Rolette four barrels of powder for the Indians. You will know it from his, that belonging to him being marked with his initials.

With regard to the Volunteers, those belonging to the Bay being, I understand, greatly wanted, you will, if their services can be dispensed with, permit them to return, of course, omitting them in your pay-list from the day their service ceases. The remainder will certainly be required, at all events, till relieved; but you may render their garrison duty as easy and as little harassing to them, as possible, assuring them all at the same time, that I am highly pleased with their behavior and services they have rendered. As they so meritoriously contributed to the recovery of the Prairie du Chien and Fort McKay, so, I doubt not, they will as gallantly exert themselves to defend their conquest. I am perfectly satisfied hitherto with your measures, but particularly with sending the gun and detachment to support the Indians.

The war must be kept at as great a distance from you as possible. You must hold a high language to the Indians, such as our great power, and unparalleled successes in general, and our commanding attitude in the Canadas in particular, justify and require.

Let the bright prospect which we may fairly anticipate, leave not a thought amongst any of you but of success and victory, and animate the whole in such a manner as will prevent the enemy from ascending the Mississippi this season.

Next year we shall, I hope, be able to afford more effectual support, and the enemy will then find himself assailed in all directions, and have fully enough upon his hands. I have the honor, etc.

(Signed,) Rob't McDouall, Lieut. Col. Com'd'g.

P. S. As Commandant, no person is to interfere with your command. I doubt not but you are well supported by the officers under you, particularly Lieuts. Graham and Brisbois, and Serg't Keating of the artillery. You will not fail to mention to

me such as from their zeal and good conduct, merit my approbation, and such rewards as may hereafter be in my power to bestow.

Capt. Anderson to Lieut. Col. R. McDouall

Prairie des Chiens, Fort McKay, 18th Oct., 1814.

Sir:—I had the honor to receive your favor of the 23d Sept., by Mr. Rolette, and as Lieut. Graham, whom I had sent off with dispatches to you, on the 13th inst., having returned with Mr. Rolette here, affords me an early opportunity of returning you my thanks for your approbation of the measures I have adopted in the defense of this post.

Long 'ere this you will have received my detail of our successes at the Rock River. Though no prizes were made, yet the favorable result of that expedition has been of the first consequence in the preservation of this country; for had the enemy put their design in execution, and had murdered the Sauks in that inhuman and American-like manner, as was their intention, as mentioned in my letter of the 11th inst., the Indian tribes on the Mississippi would not have been easily brought to understand or believe that our Government's intention to support them is real. In fact, the Indian character is such, that when a promise is made them, and not fulfilled at the time appointed, they immediately, without paying attention to the circumstances that cause the disappointment, attribute it to design, and a conditional promise with them is construed into a real or positive one.

The unforseen and unfortunate delay of the Indian goods, notwithstanding Captain Dease's and my indefatigable endeavors to explain to the Indians from whence it proceeds, is seriously injurious to the confidence placed by them: and if unfortunately anything should turn up to prevent Robert Dickson coming out here, and the supplies not reaching us, one-half of the Indians must inevitably starve to death. This last circumstance, which they themselves are continually observing to me, ought and would to a set of rational beings in their situation, convince them, that without the supplies they receive from the British Government, they cannot exist.

Mr. Rolette, having contracted for, and being able immediately to commence the supplying the garrison, is very opportunely; for the Commissary stores were quite exhausted, and the troops began to feed on Indian corn. There is still a barrel of pork remaining, which I kept as a stand-by. I shall as soon as these dispatches are gone, transfer to Mr. Rolette what small quantity of salt is remaining, say about forty pounds, and will immediately go about putting everything respecting the garrison, etc., in a regular way, according to the forms I have received.

With respect to the payment of the troops, Mr. Rolette has offered to furnish the money for that purpose, they having been paid up to the 24th August last. The cold weather setting in, and the absolute necessity they are in for some articles of clothing, will make it necessary for me to pay them up to the 24th inst., which I would not otherwise do till I receive your orders to that effect. Whatever disbursements I have been obliged to make, shall be all transferred to Mr. Rolette, in order to give less trouble, being under one head. Mr. Rolette appears to wish to do everything in his power for the good of the service, and says he will at all times furnish what money he can for that purpose, and as to his contract, I am convinced he will do everything possible to complete it. The greatest inconvenience will be on account of salt, which cannot be procured here to preserve the Summer's supply of meat.

I am putting Fort McKay in as strong and comfortable a situation, and at as little expense, as possible, at the same time omitting nothing that may tend to the safety of the place. The four barrels of powder sent out by Mr. Rolette were received, as also some half-pound round shot, and the case of round shot mentioned as deficient in my letter of the 11th inst.

In conformity to your orders, I sent off the Green Bay Volunteers, and nine of my own company, under Lieut. Graham, of the Indian Department. I have given orders to Lieut. Graham to proceed with all possible haste, till he meets Robert Dickson; that should he meet the troops previous to meeting Mr. Dickson, to give them every assistance in his power. My motive for doing this is because I understand they are greatly in need; and as

there are no appearances of the enemy's approach at present, the men are little wanted here.

The troops here have been almost continually, more or less of them, on fatigue, for which I make them the usual allowance of ten pence per day. The militia, when on fatigue, will have the same allowance; and as circumstances made it necessary for me to oblige them to furnish themselves with provisions, they will have six pence per day for that; and for every team furnished they will receive five shillings—all of which, as well as every other account, shall be correctly stated, and Mr. Rolette will pay them. With respect to the officers here, I am highly pleased with them all, and assure you they have rendered every service in their power. As to Sergeant Keating, of the Artillery, from the zealous, courageous and handsome manner in which he has behaved since he left Mackinaw, I conceive him worthy of every advantage that merit in his profession deserves.

Mr. Honore, of the Indian Department, has, since we left Mackinaw, acted in the capacity of Commissary, without whose assistance I would be badly off in this respect, for which Mr. Rolette informs me he has received your approbation of granting him the pay of a Lieutenant, which I hope may not be improper to continue, as his assistance in that capacity is indispensably necessary. It may be proper for me to observe, that the high price of goods at this place would make it impossible for a private soldier to keep himself completely equipped, exclusive of his yearly clothing, even if he had a subaltern officer's pay. It requires two and a half months' pay of a private to buy himself a pair of shoes, and other things in proportion.

The detachment of Michigan Fencibles in this garrison have, till now, proved to be good soldiers; but they require severe officers. As this garrison is small, and not placed in an advantageous situation for the defense of the place, it will be necessary for the officer commanding here, as soon as possible, to have the requisite instructions on this head; and if an alteration is allowed to be made, the materials necessary, such as wood and stone, must be got out to the spot on the snow. My determination and wish to act in every respect in conformity to your or-

ders, and as exactly as possible, makes it necessary for me to trouble you much more on some heads than I perhaps ought to do; but as the good of the service requires, as long as I hold my present situation, that I should seek every information in this way, I take the liberty to ask you what authority I have with respect to the Indian Department, and whether the necessary provisions, etc., for Indians are furnished by the garrison, or whether the officers of that Department make those purchases themselves?

The Sauks or Mississippi Indian heroes have just arrived, and brought word that a party lately arrived from the Riviere Des Forts,[1] brought in ten scalps, and say they will continue to bring them in as they do ducks from the swamps. The want of provisions has been the cause of my not making an attempt there. Everything must be ready for a start in the Spring. Should the reinforcements of troops reach here in time, I should deem it best to make an attack this Fall, as it would be an important point for the defense of this, to obstruct the passage of their boats. I am impatient for instructions.

I am informed that representations have been made at Mackinaw with respect to my conduct in the execution of my duty here; but as they proceed from envy and meanness, I do not regard them. My actions have ever been conducted by the purest motives for the good of the service; and if I did not give the command of the expedition to the Rock River to Captain Grignon, it was because his conduct in the pursuit of the American gun-boat, at the taking of this place, on the 19th of July last, would not authorize me to entrust a command of so much consequence to his charge.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 28th Oct. 1814.

To Captain Anderson—

Sir:—I was highly gratified on receiving your dispatch, announcing the defeat of another attempt of the enemy to ascend the Mississippi for an attack on your post. I also fully approve of the judicious measures you adopted to counteract their in-

[1] So it appears in the manuscript; perhaps Des Moines River is the stream referred to. L. C. D.

tentions, particularly in affording that prompt assistance to the Sauks which inspired them with such courage and confidence, and in the end was productive of such brilliant results. Captain Bulger, of the Royal Newfoundland Reg't, being appointed by me to command at Fort McKay, and on the Mississippi, in resigning it to him, I should not do justice to the opinion I entertain of your merit, did I not testify my entire satisfaction with your conduct while you held it. I, therefore, doubt not that you will exhibit the same zeal for the good of the service, and afford Captain Bulger the utmost assistance and support which may be in your power, and, in the event of being again attacked by the enemy, that your company of Volunteers will distinguish themselves by their gallantry and good conduct, of which, you may assure them, I have a high idea.

I have directed Capt. Bulger to give every facility to you, duly receiving your pay, and the other allowances to which you and your officers are entitled. I have the honor, etc.,

(Signed) Rob't McDouall, Lieut. Co. Com'd'g.

Prairie du Chien, Jan. 3d, 1815.

Robert Dickson, "agent of the Western Indians, and Superintendent of the conquered countries," writes under the above date, to Capt. A. H. Bulger, commanding Fort McKay:

Sir:—The Sergeant on guard having informed me that the Indian Chief who was then a prisoner in Fort McKay, was sick; I thought proper to send the Sioux interpreter, Joseph Renville, to visit him, who returned with the following talk delivered by the Indian:

"I am very sick. My Father apparently finds it necessary that I should die here. If I am longer kept a close prisoner, I will most surely die of disease. It troubles my spirit to think that I shall die of sickness. I request of my Father that I may suffer death from the hands of his soldiers. Dying by the hands of his soldiers, will be the means of saving my nation from destruction; and the Sioux Chief, the Little Corbeau, will know the manner of my death. The man who committed the murder is not of my band; but I understand that it is not altogether for him that I am bound, but for the very bad conduct of my people before this happened—therefore, I demand to die by the hands of your soldiers."

On being interrogated by the interpreter respecting the man who was first confined, and who had promised to return, he answered: "That he was not a

man of his band; and knowing the evil disposition of his people, he was sure that they had killed him." He then added: "I am an old man. It was with difficulty that I got here. You know that I fell down often on the road, and principally when I descended the mountain; but my courage and force were renewed when I reflected that I was going to save the lives of my children by dying for them. Do not let my Father think, that by mean excuses and evasions, that I wish to save my life. No! I am above such baseness. I am not afraid of death. My Father has already done me honor in sending his first soldiers to bring me here. I did not think my old body was worth so much trouble."

I think it necessary to make you the above communication, and in an hour hence I shall wait on you in order to give you some information I have just received.

THE INDIAN MURDERER—JANUARY 7, 1815

Le Corbeau Francois, on arriving at the gate of Fort McKay, with the prisoner who had killed the two men, said: "My Father! Here is the dog that bit you. In delivering him up, I trust that it will be the means of saving my band from destruction." On coming into the Commandant's room, he again repeated: "This is the dog that bit you. Do with him as you please; he deserves to die. I have one favor to request of you—that you will not kill him until I go off; he most surely merits death. In delivering up this bad man, I also give up the marks [gifts-insignia of friendship] of the Americans. Although we are not numerous, I think we can act as well as the other Indians, and henceforth I am resolved to follow your counsel. Some time ago you frightened me, and I then thought it was a bad business; but I am now convinced that it was the best thing that could have happened, as it is the means of preserving the lives of our women and children. You are now busy; I will relate to you at another time what the Americans told me, the last time I went to see them."

Le Corbeau Francois' talk, January 7th, evening: "The reports that the Indian, lately arrived from the Americans, brought were these: They told me, said he, that when they got angry that they would bring all the nations from the Missouri, and

sweep away everything in this quarter before them. Notwithstanding this, I have given up their marks and colors. I know what I do, and I shall in future act against them." He then repeated to the interpreter the substance of the letter of Robert Dickson, the Superintendent, to Capt. Bulger.

On the trial, being interrogated by the court, and pointing to the prisoner, asked if he was the man who killed one man and wounded the other? He answered—"He is truly the man." The chief then addressed the prisoner: "Why did you deny the bad act you have done? You ought to speak the truth. The Master of Life will take pity on you. There can be no pardon for you—prepare for death. You ought not to regret dying after committing the crime you have." To this the prisoner made no answer.

When taken from the court, to the guard-house, the prisoner requested to see two Indians, his relations, which was granted. On their coming into the guard-house, the prisoner thus reproached them: "You have betrayed me in bringing me here. I thought at least one of you would have consented to die with me; and far from that being the case, you have not even come to see me." They thus replied to the prisoner: "Do you think we have come so far in the cold for the love we bear you? You killed the people who came to save our lives, without any quarrel. If it depended on us to save your life, you would not live a single moment."

FORT MCKAY, 15th January, 1815.

Sir:—We beg of you to excuse us for the fault we committed towards your person, and the dignity of your commission; after which we dare flatter ourselves that you would condescend to receive this new address.

F. B.,
J. R.,
In the name of the inhabitants of the Dogs' Plains.

To Capt. A. H. Bulger, Com'd'g Fort McKay.

Fort McKay, 15th January, 1815.

Sir:—We, the citizens of the Dog Plains, not knowing in what manner to explain the sentiments with which we are penetrated, we pray that you will receive our thanks and acknowledgments for the protection that you assure to His Britannic Majesty's subjects. Your conduct and activity in rendering justice in an Indian country, which has been exposed to so many misfortunes hitherto, gives us hopes to live in quiet under your command; and permit us at the same time more and more to testify our zeal and loyalty towards our sovereign. We beg of you to believe us, with profound respect, sir,

Your very humble servants,

[Names not preserved.]

To Capt. A. H. Bulger, Com'd'g Fort McKay.

Michilimackinac, 24th Feb. 1815.

To Captain Anderson—

Sir:—I, this day, had the honor of your letter of the 17th ult., stating your having resigned the command of Fort McKay to Captain Bulger. That gentleman speaks of you in such a manner that I have only to reiterate to you my thanks for the zeal and ability you displayed in your command at a very critical period; and I have to beg of you to give to Capt. Bulger the most friendly and cordial support, and, by every assistance in your power, endeavor to aid in procuring those supplies which will still enable us to retain that most important country, upon which our Indian connection, and even the safety of this Island, so much depend.

I am fully aware of the sacrifices you have made for the public service, and shall be ever ready, as far as it is in my power, to prove to you how desirous I am of your being recompensed, as you merit. I had before taken this into consideration, and in my last dispatch, recommended you to His Excellency to be a Captain in the Indian Department from the 4th of September. This appointment, I have reason to believe, will afford you those permanent advantages, which, as Captain of the Michigan Fencibles, you

would probably enjoy but a short time. I well know your zeal for the service, and will always be ready to serve you as far as in my power, and in the way most pleasing for yourself.

Every human effort must be made by one and all of you, to preserve your important post, upon which so much depends. Do your utmost to conciliate and animate the Indians, for with their hearty co-operation, I trust that the enemy is again destined to defeat and disgrace. As it is my wish that the utmost harmony should prevail at your garrison during this important crisis, I strongly recommend to you to forget what has passed, with regard to Mr. Rolette, and to be in future, on that friendly footing with him, which may perhaps assist him in furnishing the supplies, which are of so much consequence in enabling Captain Bulger to retain his important post. I have the honor, &c.,

(Signed) ROB'T MCDOUALL,
Lieut. Col. Com'd'g, and Commanding the Indian Department thereof, and its Dependencies.

Answer of La Feuille, or The Leaf, principal Sioux Chief, to Thomas,[1] delivered to Capt. Anderson. [No date—in 1814 or 1815.]

MY BROTHER!—I have heard your words and received your talk, and will use my endeavors to follow your advice. You are near our Great Father at Michilimackinac, who gives us good counsels, and puts us in the road of our ancestors. Who would be foolish enough not to follow his advice?

MY BROTHER THOMAS!—I regard you as a brother. Take this pipe (holding a pipe in his hand), and with it, talk to the Chippewas near me (the hereditary enemies of the Sioux); they are wild and stubborn. I wish to be as brethren with them. Tell them a parcel of foolish Renards (Foxes) went to war against them, though I used my endeavors to prevent them. It is my wish to be at peace with all nations. I regard you as a brother, and hold you fast by the hand.

[1] As La Feuille refers to Thomas whom he addresses as residing "near" to Mackinaw, it must have reference to the distinguished Menomonee Chief Thomas or Tomah, who lived near Green Bay, rather than the Sauk Chief Thomas, whose home was doubtless with his people near the mouth of Rock River. L. C. D.

Speech of L'Epervier, or Sparrow Hawk, better known as Black Hawk, principal war-chief of the Sauks, delivered before peace was known, at Prairie du Chien, April 18th, 1815, and taken down by Capt. T. G. Anderson:

My Father!—I am pleased to hear you speak as you have done. I have been sent by our chiefs to ask for a large gun (cannon), to place in our village. The Big Knives are so treacherous, we are afraid that they may come up to deceive us. By having one of your large guns in our village, we will live in safety; our women will then be able to plant corn, and hoe the ground unmolested, and our young men will be able to hunt for their families without dread of the Big Knives.

Taking the war-belt in his hand, and advancing a little, he continued:

My Father!—You see this belt. When my Great Father at Quebec gave it to me to be on terms of friendship with all his Red Children, to form but one body, to preserve our lands, and to make war against the Big Knives, who want to destroy us all. My Great Father said: 'Take courage, my children, hold tight your war-club, and destroy the Big Knives as much as you can. If the Master of Life favors us, you shall again find your lands as they formerly were. Your lands shall again become green—the trees green—the water green, and the sky blue. When your lands change color, you shall also change.' This, my Father, is the reason why we Sauks hold the war-club tight in our hands, and will not let it go.

My Father!—I now see the time is drawing near when we shall all change color; but, my Father, our lands have not yet changed color—they are red—the water is red with our blood, and the sky is cloudy. I have fought the Big Knives, and will continue to fight them until they retire from our lands. Till then, my Father, your Red Children, cannot be happy."

Then laying his tomahawk down before him, he continued:

My Father!—I show you this war-club to convince you that we Sauks have not forgotten the words of our Great Father at Quebec. You see, my Father, that the club which you gave me is still red and that we continue to hold it fast. For what did you put it in my hands?

My Father!—When I lately came from war, and killed six of the enemy, I promised my warriors that I would get something for them from my Father, the Red Head; but as he is not here, and you fill his place, I beg of you, my Father, to let me have something to take back to them.

My Father!—I hope you will agree to what I ask, and not allow me to return to my warriors empty-handed, ashamed, and with a heavy heart.

Speech of the Kickapoo Chief, the Barbouiller, addressed to Capt. Anderson, at Prairie du Chien, Aug. 3, 1815.

My Father!—You suppose within yourself: "What has this old fellow got to say?" I have not much to say. My chief and warriors sent me to listen to your words, as the voice of our Great Father at Michilimackinac. I hear the news from below (meaning St. Louis), and from you. From below I hear, but do not retain it; from you I hear with satisfaction, and my ears and heart are open, and retain what you say. The Sauks and my nation *make one;* and whatever they say, I hearken to it. The Great Spirit hears us talk to-day under a clear sky, and we must tell truth. I squeeze my Father's hand—am obedient to his word, and will not forget the charity he now bestows upon us.

DELIVERY OF PUBLIC STORES AT FORT McKAY

1814.

Aug. 11. Per Col. McKay's orders, delivered to the Michigans, 2 two and one-half point blankets, 2 cotton shirts, and 1 carrot of tobacco.

" " Delivered to the Officers, Interpreters, and Privates, 12 carrots of tobacco.

" " Delivered to a Sotrax [Sauteur, or Chippewa] Indian, returning to Mackinaw, 1 knife, and 1 half ax.

" " Delivered 5 kettles to the Volunteers, to use in cooking (had been used).

" 13. Delivered to the Renards, for some American clothing, 2 two-point blankets, 4 one and one-half point blankets, and 4 one-point blankets.

" " Delivered to the Renard, "Dancing the Scalp," 2 one and one-half-point blankets, 2 cotton shirts, 10 arm-garters, ¼ lb. of twine, ½ yd. of scarlet.

" " Delivered to two Renards, for guiding to find the barges, 2 two and one-half-point blankets.

" 14. Paid an artificer, for work done at the fort, 13 one-point blankets, and 1½ yds. of calico.

" " Paid a Sauk woman for medicines to Col. McKay, 2 one and one-half-point blankets, and ¾ yd. of scarlet.

" 15. Sent by Lieut. Graham, to exchange for dressed leather, 4 one and one-half-point blankets, 4 one-point blankets, and one carrot of tobacco.

" " Gave to a Volunteer (Indian Dep't), who had no shirt, 1 cotton shirt.

" 16. Gave to two Volunteers (Indian Dep't) who had no shirts, 2 cotton shirts.

" " Gave to Michigan manager, per Col. McKay's order, 1 cotton shirt.

" 20. Gave to Michigan manager for running balls, ¾ yd. of scarlet.

1814.

Aug. 23. Paid for nine deer-skins, 1 two and one-half point blankets, 2 knives, and 6 fire-steels.

" " Returned to Mr. Brisbois for articles borrowed of him to pay artificers, and to give Indians, 3 three-point blankets, 3 two and one-half-point blankets, 11⅔ yds. of stroud, and ½ yd. of scarlet.

" 26. Delivered to a Renard, and a woman that brought an American scalp here this Spring, and is known to be a good Indian, though in the Jeune Homme's band, 1 three-point blanket, 2 yds. of stroud, 2 knives and 2 fire-steels.

" " Delivered 36 knives for the expedition going down below.

" 28. Delivered to the Feuille, and Lieut. Graham, for the use of the detachment going to the Rock River, 2 three-point blankets, 1⅓ yds. of stroud, 1 yd. of calico, 2 cotton shirts, 72 knives, 72 gun-worms, ¾ lb. of vermilion, 100 needles, 100 gun flints, 10 half-axes, 10 tomahawks, 10 lbs. of shot, and 1 skein of thread.

" 30. To an Indian 72 [?] yds. of scarlet.

" " To Indians and men, by small pieces, at different times, 5½ carrots of tobacco.

Aug. 30. To different persons (interpreters, etc.,), 3 kettles, to use for tea-kettles.

Sept. 2. Paid for making cartridges, washing, etc., 1 three-point blanket, 3 calico and 3 cotton shirts.

" 3. For flour to Volunteers going on command, 1½ yds. of stroud, and 6 cotton shirts.

" 7. To four Sauks, arrived express from Rock River, 4 two and

1815. one-half-point blankets, and 1¾ yds. of stroud.

April 10. Received from Capt. Bulger, nine dollars to pay an Indian guide from the Bay to Layer—[Lecuyer's at Portage?]

" " Gave Thomas, 12 yds. of ribbon, to tie five medals and one gorget.

" 11. To divers Indians, 5 yds. of ribbon, to tie medals, etc.

" " To Thomas and party, going to Mackinaw, 12 fire-steels, 20 lbs. of shot, 14 lbs. of ball, 12 gun-worms, 10 lbs. of powder, and 2 lbs. of tobacco.

" " Delivered to the Commanding officer, a wampum belt, and a parcel of medicines.

" " Delivered to the Commanding officer, two epaulettes. Delivered also to blacksmiths C. and Jan., sixteen files, eight to each.

" 13. To Indians dancing, and going off to Mackinaw, 1 knife, 10 fire-steels, 2 yds. ribbon, 15 gun-flints, 6 lbs. of balls, 10 gun-worms, 2 lbs. of powder, and 4 lbs. of tobacco.

April 13. Received of the Commanding officer thirty-five dollars, ten to pay an Indian, and twenty-five to pay Langlois that came with Interpreter Grignon.

" 15. To Folles Avoines and Renards, 1½ lbs of tobacco.

1815.

April 16. To Renards, the Dan Claier, for the Berdash's band, 24 knives, 24 fire-steels, 50 gun-flints, 50 lbs of ball, 36 gun-worms, 27 lbs of powder, and 1 lb of tobacco.

" 20. To the Borgue, a Puant, and his band, 12 fire-steels, 1 yd of ribbon, 20 gun-flints, 20 lbs of ball, 12 gun-worms, 5 lbs of powder, and 1½ lbs of tobacco.

" " Returned to me by Vertafierdler, 4 gun-flints, 16 lbs of shot, and 6½ lbs of powder.

" 22. Gave four Sauks, returning home, 8 gun-flints, 5 lbs of ball, and 2 lbs of powder.

" " Gave three Puants going away up the Ouisconsin, 2 fire-steels, 6 gun-flints, 3 lbs of ball, 6 gun-worms, and 1 lb of powder.

" 26. To Sauks that came with Capt. Graham, 24 knives, 48 fire-steels, ½ doz. of sewing thread, 10 yds of ribbon, 12 colored silk handkerchiefs, 50 gun flints, 10 lbs of shot, 80 lbs of ball, 24 gun-worms, 1 cock-feather, 20 lbs of powder, 2½ lbs of tobacco, 4 arm-bands, 10 ear-wheels, 3½ yds of strouds, 1½ lbs of verdigris, 10 yds of calico, 4 guns, 20 yds lace, and 1 hotel (?).

" 28. To Mr. Dickson, and manager, going off, 6 lbs of shot, 12 lbs of ball, 6 lbs of powder, and ½ lb of tobacco.

April 29. To Rock River Puants, who brought a horse, 1 knife, 24 fire-steels, 8 yds. of ribbon, 6 colored silk handkerchiefs, 50 gun-flints, 60 lbs. of ball, 24 gun-worms, 20 lbs. of powder, 2 guns, and 10 yds. of lace.

" " To the officers of the garrison, and Sioux, 12 colored silk handkerchiefs.

" 30. To Ouisconsin Puants, 12 knives, 12 fire-steels, 5 yds. of ribbon, 6 colored silk handkerchiefs, 40 gun-flints, 40 lbs. of ball, 12 gun-worms, 15 lbs. of powder, and 10 yds. of lace.

May 2. To the Commusant, a Puant, 12 knives, 12 fire-steels, 4 colored silk handkerchiefs, 30 gun-flints, 40 lbs. of ball, 12 gun-worms, 17 lbs. of powder, and 10 yds. of lace.

" " To Renards, Mauld Eagle, 12 fire-steels, 30 gun-flints, 30 lbs. of ball, and 13 lbs. of powder.

" " Returned to Mr. Aird, 13 lbs. of powder.

" 2. To the Renards, Barbouiller, etc., 12 knives, 12 fire-steels, 50 gun-flints, 2 lbs. of shot, 6 lbs. of ball, and 28 lbs. of powder.

" 11. To the Renards, Jeune Homme, 12 fire-steels, 4 yds. of ribbon, 2 colored silk handkerchiefs, 40 gun-flints, 60 lbs. of ball, 12 gun-worms, and 20 lbs. of powder.

To Sauks going to Mackinaw, 6 fire-steels, 2 yds. of ribbon, 10 gun-flints, 2 lbs. of shot, 60 lbs. of ball, and 3 lbs. of powder.

To Sioux, 3 hoes, and one pair of shears.

To Sioux, 2 hoes; to Renards, 1 hoe, and one pair of shears.

Recollections of Prairie du Chien

Related by B. W. Brisbois[1]

Mr. Brisbois states that he was born at Prairie du Chien, Oct. 4th, 1808. His father, Michael Brisbois, Sr., was born at Maska, below Montreal, in 1759. His grandfather migrated from Normandy; his parents were Joseph and Marguerite Devault Brisbois. When fifteen years of age, in 1775, Michael Brisbois was a student in college at Quebec, when the Americans attacked that city under Montgomery at the close of the year; and the students were armed, and assigned a place in the defense, but there was no attack on their quarter. Michael Brisbois probably received only a partial education; but he could read and write well. We find him at Mackinaw in 1779,[2] when nineteen years of age.

Of the time of his arrivel at Prairie du Chien, B. W. Brisbois can only refer to his father's statement, made in 1820, to Judge Isaac Lee, the United States commissioner for adjusting land titles, that it was thirty-nine years previously—that is, in 1781,[3] when he was twenty-one years of age. In that year, the Indians, who claimed the country, sold to Governor Patrick Sinclair, at Mackinaw, for Basil Giard, Pierre Antaya, and Augustin Ange. Pierre la Pointe was interpreter. Michael Brisbois was present, and probably returned with the Indians, Giard and associates, to Prairie du Chien, thus making his advent there; and there he continued to reside for fifty-six years. B. W. Brisbois says this land purchase embraced nine miles square; and he believes, that Giard, Antaya, and Angé were only a committee who acted in behalf of the settlers; he does not know the amount paid in goods for the grant, nor the Indian chiefs who made it, but always understood the Indians were satisfied with the sale.

[1] Noted down and annotated by Lyman C. Draper.
[2] *U. S. Public Lands*, iv. p. 814.
[3] *U. S. Public Lands*, iv, pp. 851, 852.

Mr. Brisbois further says, that the principal chief who early lived at Prairie du Chien, was Chien (or Dog), who was of the Fox tribe; that he lived at the old Indian Town, now Lower Town of Prairie du Chien—don't know what became of him. Michael Brisbois, in his deposition taken by the Land Commissioner in 1820, states that there was a large Indian family of Des Chiens, some of them still remaining there after his arrival in 1781. They probably retired to their Sauk and Fox friends at the mouths of Rock and Turkey rivers.

Michael Brisbois "did in Rome as Romans do"—in accordance with the early customs of this wild wilderness country, when he took to himself about 1785, a fair and handsome Winnebago wife, said to have been a daughter, by a Winnebago woman, of Charles Gautier de Verville, who figured so prominently under Charles de Langlade in the old French and Indian War; and by this marriage had three children—one of whom was Michael Brisbois, Jr. This Winnebago wife was living, within the recollection of informant, among her people. On the 8th of August, 1796, Michael Brisbois was married at Mackinaw, to Domitelle Gautier de Verville, generally called Madelaine, daughter of Charles Gautier de Verville and his wife, who was a Miss Madelaine Chevalier[1]. By this marriage, he had several children—the oldest a daughter, died young; the next, Charles, was born in 1798, who, after the peace of 1815 engaged in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and returned home in 1843, after twenty-eight years' absence. He was a lieutenant in Capt. Wiram

[1] Ancient records as cited by L'eut. D. H. Ke'ton, in his *Annals of Mackinaw*, p. 65; B. W. Brisbois' statement. Mr. Brisbois adds concerning his grandfather, Charles Gautier de Verville, that while he was an early Indian interpreter, apparently for the British government, he had children among the Sioux, and one among the Sauks and Foxes. He was thoroughly versed in the languages of all the Northwestern tribes. He was also at one time in the South—at the Arkansas Post, or possibly at St. Lou's, under Spanish regime; for Mr. Brisbois has heard his mother say, that her father, Gautier de Verville, received a grant of 3,000 acres of land on the Arkansas River, probably for services as interpreter; and from the French or British government, all of Bois Blanc Island, near Mackinaw; but somehow the title papers were lost and both tracts, for want of proper evidence, were lost to him and his descendants.

Knowlton's company, raised in the Mexican War, to occupy Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien, while the regulars had gone to the front for service during that war; he was afterwards engaged in the removal of Indians to the West, and died of fever in the old garrison at Prairie du Chien, in 1848.

Michael Brisbois, Sr., was arrested after the war, charged with treasonable practices during the British occupation, in 1814–15, and sent to St. Louis for trial. Col. Thomas H. Benton defended him, and he was acquitted. He really took no active part in behalf of the British, simply furnishing supplies, as he had to the Americans, as a mode of livelihood. He was not a judge under John W. Johnson, in 1818, as Judge Lockwood supposed;[1] it was Nicholas Boilvin who filled that position. He died at Prairie du Chien, April 1, 1837, at the age of seventy-seven years and six months, greatly respected. He was six feet high, and quite stout in form. His widow survived him several years.

His oldest son, Michael Brisbois, Jr., was born doubtless at Prairie du Chien, about 1790. He was a lieutenant in the British Indian service, and served under Col. McKay in the affairs at Prairie du Chien in 1814, accompanying the American prisoners as far as Rock Island, whence they proceeded by themselves to St. Louis; and he also served under Lieut. Graham, in repelling the Americans at Rock River Rapids. He was as unusually fine in his appearance as a man, as his Winnebago mother was as a woman; and acquired a very extensive knowledge of Indian languages, which induced Gov. William Clark, of St. Louis, superintendent of Western Indian affairs, to obtain his services as Indian interpreter. About 1820, he was out deer hunting near St. Louis, and was shot by some unknown person, thus ending his days in the prime of life. He had married a daughter of Pierre Antaya, one of the early Prairie du Chien pioneers, and had a daughter. Both have passed away. He was a man of remarkable agility; could easily jump over an ordinary tent, six feet in height. He spoke with ease and fluency all the Algonquin languages, and was very active with the Indians during the British *regime* at Prairie du Chien in 1814.

[1] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 116.

Of Basil Giard there is but little to record. He did not figure in public affairs. He had a Spanish claim of three miles square, where McGregor is situated, which was allowed by our government. He was a Canadian trader. He died at Prairie du Chien, about 1819, at about seventy years of age. He left quite a family by a Sauk woman; some of his grandchildren are yet living at Prairie du Chien.

Pierre Antaya was a native of Canada. He was a farmer; his wife had some Fox Indian blood in her; they raised a very large family, mostly girls. Antaya must have died soon after the peace of 1815.

Augustin Ange, another of the Prairie du Chien pioneer settlers, was also a native of Canada. He first came west as a voyageur, and in time became a trader. He finally went among the Sioux of the Prairie, on the Missouri, to trade. He attended the Indian treaty at Prairie du Chien in 1825, when B. W. Brisbois first saw him; he returned, after the treaty, to his home on the Upper Missouri, where he subsequently died, and where he left a family.

Pierre La Pointe, who was the interpreter at Sinclair's Indian treaty, at Mackinaw, in June, 1781 was an early and prominent settler at Prairie du Chien. He, too, was a native of Canada, well educated and well informed. He was one of the best of Indian interpreters, and his services were much in quest by the traders. In 1817, he was in the employ of Joseph Brisbois, brother of B. W. Brisbois at Bad Axe. He died about three or four years later, a little past seventy years of age. He came to the Northwest in 1776, and settled at Prairie du Chien in 1782.[1] His wife was a sister of the great Sioux chief, Waupasha; they raised a family. Their daughter, Mrs. Antoine La Chapelle, whom La Pointe taught to read and write, was the mother of Theophilus La Chapelle, who, in 1841–42, represented Crawford County in the legislative assembly and in 1842–44, in the legislative council, and now, quite aged, is in the Insane Asylum at Mendota. B. W. Brisbois' wife was a daughter of Mrs. Antoine La Chapelle. La Pointe was a very sensible, good man, and

[1] *U. S. Public Lands*, iv, p. 852.

greatly serviceable to the pioneer settlement, as well as to the Indians.

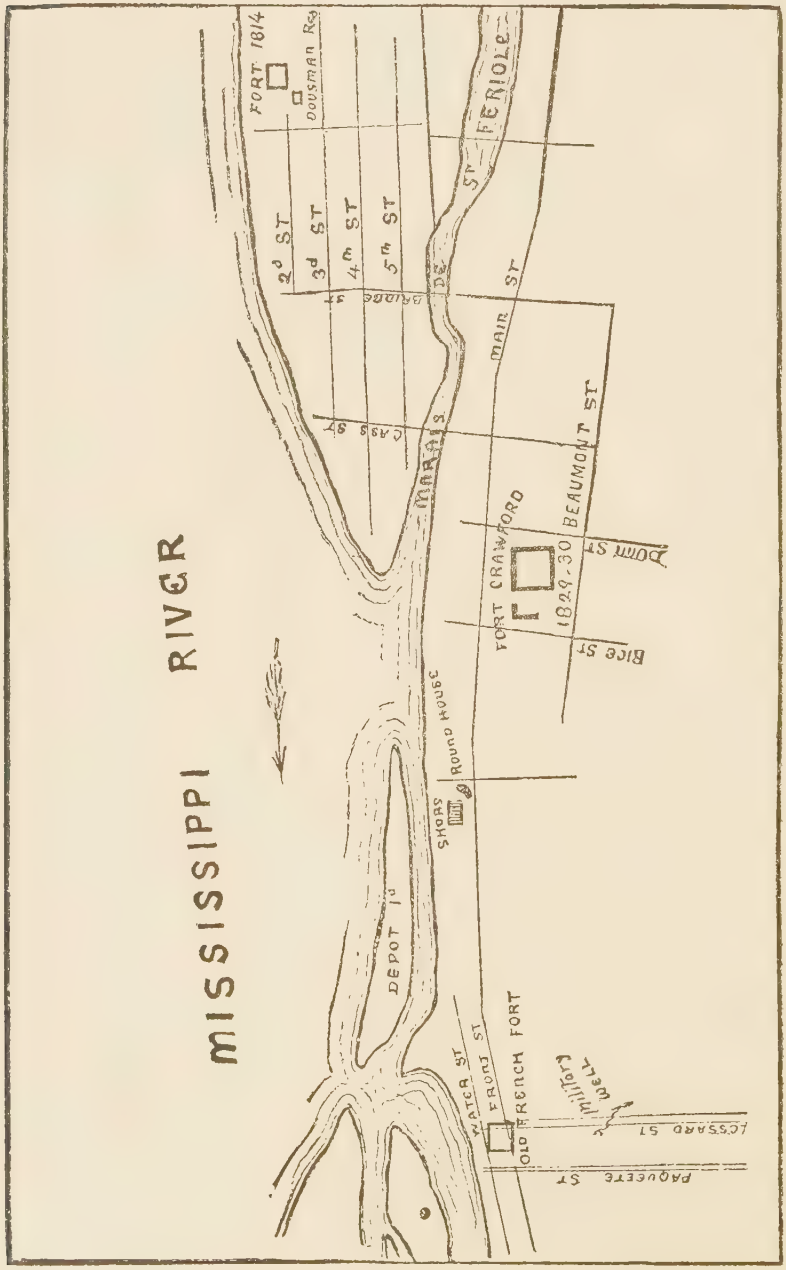
Nicholas Boilvin, another of the pioneer settlers of Prairie du Chien, was a native of Canada, where he was well known to M. Brisbois, Sr. He started by the river for St. Louis, in the summer of 1824, and dying near there, was buried at that place. He was fully sixty years of age. He was of common height, rather stocky, stooped, and bow-legged. He left a son of the same name, who went to California, and died there.

Mr. Brisbois, Sr., used to relate the following tradition about Capt. Marin, and the Sauks and Foxes whom he whipped on Fox River, and afterwards drove from Sauk Prairie on the Wisconsin: That when driven from the latter position, the Sauks and Foxes retired to, and settled at or near the mouth of Rock River; and Marin built a fort, probably to keep them in check, at the head of McGill's Slough, on the Iowa bank of the Mississippi, about a mile and a half below Wyalusing, and known and spoken of by M. Brisbois, Sr., Julien Du Buque, and other early French settlers, as Marin's Fort. There were no vestiges of it remaining within the recollection of B. W. Brisbois, who early visited the locality. Capt. Marin had another fort, also known as Fort Marin in the bend, on the east side of Lake Pepin, above the mouth of Chippewa River, perhaps six or seven miles, and there planted asparagus—the first probably in Wisconsin; and there Mr. Brisbois, many years ago, got asparagus roots, which he transplanted in his Prairie du Chien garden. Mr. Brisbois has no traditions as to the size of these forts, their history, nor of any attacks made on them, nor what finally became of the adventurous Capt. Marin. These traditions are worthy of preservation.

Of the old French fort, said to have been established in 1755,[1] M. Brisbois, Sr., used to relate, that it was located in what is now the Lower Town of Prairie du Chien, a mile and a half from the present court-house, and where the round-house and yard are situated.[2] The ancient Indian settlement was situated about

[1] *U. S. Public Lands*, iii, p. 341. But see also p. 468, *post*.

[2] It is stated in Snyder, Van Vechten & Co.'s *Historical Atlas of Wisconsin*, 1878, that the old French fort was located "near where the railroad machine shops now stand, and upon the front of farm-lot number thirty-eight." But


FORT 1814
Dousman Res
2d ST
3d ST
4th ST
5th ST
FERIOLE ST
Main ST
BEAUMONT ST
Dunn St
Rice St
MARAIS
FORT CRAWFORD
1829-30
ROUND HOUSE
SHOPS
DEPOT
WATER ST
FRONT ST
OLD FRENCH FORT
Military Belt
PAQUETTE ST
MISSISSIPPI RIVER

where the college now stands. In after times, this old fort was said to have been occupied by Canadian traders as a depot for furs and pelts. Occasionally the Spaniards at St. Louis would send up a gun-boat to seize everything of the kind, as so much confiscated property, having been gathered by British traders on

---

this is clearly an error. It is true, that Judge Lee's map of 1820, rather conveys this idea, but his map was not made from any survey, and was merely constructed at random, and is very imperfect in other particulars.

Judge Ira B. Brunson, a resident of Prairie du Chien nearly half a century, has furnished the data for fixing the locality of the old fort, and enabled J. R. Stuart to prepare the accompanying plat. Judge Brunson says: "It is located on the front or west end of farm lot number thirty-nine, and about two hundred feet from a bayou of the Mississippi, which is navigable only by canoes in low water. I have just visited the ground where the old fort stood, accompanied by S. A. Clark, who built his dwelling house within its ancient ramparts, about forty years ago; and in building, he used the stones with which the old fort fireplaces and chimneys were constructed. The stockade ditches on the east and north sides are still very distinct, not having been disturbed by cultivation. The fort proper was small, but was surrounded by a sort of palisade, enclosing nearly two acres, as I traced the trench on the east side 370 feet, in a very distinct and straight line. The stone chimneys or fireplaces were laid up with clay, no appearance of lime having been used. Mr. Clark noticed the clay when he removed the stone.

"There are no old fort or military remains in the region of the Railroad round-house and shops.

"I lately visited the old fort locality in company with Col. Brisbois and S. A. Clark; and after a thorough examination of the surroundings and the map and notes of Lyons, Col. Brisbois very reluctantly conceded that he has entertained an erroneous notion as to the locality of this old land-mark, of which Mr. Clark and I had no doubt."

This visit of Col. Brisbois to the old fort was since I visited him, and took down his recollections. It should be added, that Lucius Lyons, U. S. Surveyor, made a survey of Prairie du Chien in 1828, and constructed a map, of which Judge Brunson has presented our Historical Society a copy, which gives the location of the old French fort on farm lot No. thirty-nine, and the old fort well some little distance away; and in Lyons' field notes of his survey of this farm lot, he distinctly notes the "Old French Fort" as within that survey.

The old fort locality as designated by Judge Brunson and Mr. Clark occupies about one-quarter and nearly in the center of the block bounded by Front and Water streets, and Lessard and Paquette streets, as shown on the map, while the trenches extend into Front and Lessard streets. On the plat here given, the trench outline is alone represented, which would seem to cover five or six times the space of the fort proper.

Spanish territory, and without Spanish license or permission. When the traders below would learn of the approach of a Spanish gun-boat, they would apprise their friends at Prairie du Chien, who would hurry off their property to Mackinaw for its preservation.

Capt. J. Long, a British Indian trader, in his *Voyages and Travels,* relates, that in June, 1780, news was brought from the Mississippi to Mackinaw that "the Indian traders had deposited their furs at *La Prairie des Chiens,* or Dogs' Field, where there is a town of considerable note, built after the Indian manner, under the care of Mons. Langlade, the king's interpreter; and that the Americans were in great force at the Illinois," and on the opposite shore, at St. Louis, was a Spanish fort, "commanded by an officer and about twelve men to prevent illicit trade."

The commanding officer at Mackinaw, engaged Long to accompany a party of twenty Canadians and thirty-six Fox and Sioux Indians—the Indians under the leadership of Waupasha—with nine large birch canoes; all destined for Prairie du Chien, to bring off the deposits of the traders, fearing the Americans would plunder them. Proceeding to Green Bay, thence up Fox River, and down the Wisconsin, they at length arrived at Prairie du Chien where they found Capt. Langlade, with some Indians, guarding the peltry, which were in packs in a log-house. Taking out about three hundred packs of the best skins, they filled the canoes—an average of thirty-three packs to a canoe. Sixty more packs they burned, says Long, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Americans.[1] "About five days after our departure," Long adds, "we were informed that the Americans came to attack us; but to their extreme mortification, we were out of their reach." So far as Long relates matters coming under his own observation, they must be regarded as approximately

[1] Long does not tell us that these packs were burned by firing the building in which they were deposited; but this seems to have been the fact. Such is the Brisbois tradition; and Dennis Curtois, who settled at Prairie du Chien in 1791, stated in 1820, that "the old French fort was burned the second year of the Revolutionary War"—doubtless correct as to the fact of the burning, but slightly erroneous as to date. See *U. S. Public Lands,* iv, p. 866. L. C. D.

correct—better than mere traditions, handed down from one to another for a century.

What Capt. Long represents as a "log-house," in which the furs were deposited, B. W. Brisbois thinks was at least a part of the old French fort; but he has no idea as to its size. His tradition from his father is, that this Mackinaw party burned up, with the building in which they were, about three hundred packs of the least valuable deer peltries and furs, which they could not carry away; but an eye witness like Long, has doubtless given the correct number. There was certainly something of a French, as well as Indian, settlement there at that time. Mr. Brisbois insists that it was the Spanish, not the Americans, whom the British traders feared. A former American invasion from below, did not get so high up the Mississippi as Prairie du Chien; but they heard of a large accumulation of furs there—and hence the danger, and the removal of the traders' deposits to Mackinaw.[1]

Mr. Brisbois mentions an interesting tradition about the very first settlers who located at Prairie du Chien, after the French soldiery who had forted there, had retired. He had his traditions mostly from his venerable father, and from Mrs. Cardinal. At an early period, Jean Marie Cardinal, with his wife, and a Mandan Indian slave, named Nicholas Colas, arrived, and settled about a mile and a half above the present court-house, at what is known as the Middle Village. Cardinal had ascended the Mississippi as far as Cannon River, just above where Red Wing now stands; but preferring the Prairie du Chien locality to any point he had visited, he returned and made a permanent settlement there. Mrs. Cardinal used to relate, that when they first arrived, the buffalo were so numerous as sometimes to impede the progress of the three adventurers in their frail bark vessel, and that they had to wait

[1] From *Pike's Travels*, and other sources, it would appear that Col. Montgomery's expedition, soon after the British and Indian attack on St. Louis, and on Col. Clark's force at Cahokia, in the latter part of May, 1780, d'd not proceed higher than the Sauk villages at the mouth of Rock River; but as there was a party of Spanish allies along, they may have proceeded up to Prairie du Chien, arriving there, as Long relates, about five days after his departure—and, it is possible, a detachment of Montgomery's men may have performed this service. L. C. D.

for the vast horde to cross the river before their canoe could pass in safety. It was, too, a time of an unusual flood in the Upper Mississippi; the waters were so high, that they came up from the mouth of the Wisconsin, in their bark canoe, next to the bluffs, where the ground was some feet lower than the rest of the plain; and she declared that she had seen no such *great flood* since that one at the time of her arrival. She died in 1827, and her age was computed at about one hundred and thirty years. Mr. Brisbois, however, says she did not appear to be so old.

Dr. Brunson fixed the period of Cardinal's advent, judging from Mrs. Cardinal's supposed great age, as between 1720 and 1730—or perhaps, had come with the troops to Green Bay in 1726; and assumed that the Cardinals came from Canada.[1] Mr. Brisbois very properly suggests, that the fact that Cardinal was accompanied by an Omaha Indian slave, would indicate that he came from the St. Louis region, as the Omaha tribe resided high up the Missouri; and it was not an uncommon occurrence to make slaves of the Western Indians, and this was especially true of the Pawnees. It is unfortunate, that we have no record of remarkable floods in the Mississippi prior to that of April, 1785—*L'année des grandes eaux*—the year of the great flood, as the early French settlers at St. Louis used to speak of it. There was no French settlement at St. Louis prior to 1764, though there were such settlements at Kaskaskia, and other points in Illinois at a much earlier period.

The probabilities are, that Mrs. Cardinal was not nearly so old as was supposed. After Cardinal's death, Mr. Brisbois relates that the widow married her servant man Colas, who was very nearly white; and for her third husband, Joseph Crélie—but that after a three days' blissful matrimonial experience with the latter, she was yet vigorous enough to kick him out of bed, and drive him off. This latter marriage must have been somewhere about 1820, when Crélie did not exceed fifty, and would hardly have been smitten with the charms of a lady who had enjoyed the suns of over one hundred and twenty summers.

Another reason why the early date assigned by Dr. Brunson to

[1] *Wis. Hist. Colls*, iv, p. 249.

the advent of Cardinal cannot be correct, is, that the evidence is wanting that there were any white settlers at Prairie du Chien at so early a period. When Capt. Carver visited that locality in 1766, he mentioned a large Indian town there containing about three hundred families. He alludes to traders, about the latter end of May, meeting Indians there from remote parts, and engaging in bartering goods for their furs, and adds: "A little farther to the West, on the contrary side of the great Father of Waters, a small river falls into the Mississippi, which the French call La Jaune Riviere, or the Yellow River. Here the traders, who had accompanied me hitherto, took up their residence for the winter"—which, it would seem reasonable, they would hardly have done, had there been a settlement of whites at Prairie du Chien. Taking all these facts together, the advent and settlement of Cardinal could not well have taken place earlier than 1767, and may have been even some years later.[1]

Joseph Crélie, who died in Caledonia, Wisconsin, Jan. 27th, 1866, was about ninety-four years old when he passed away, and not of that fabulous age as reported—so several old people at Prairie du Chien, who had long known him, agreed. Mr. Brisbois has no knowledge of Crélie's father having resided at Prairie du Chien. Crélie was accustomed to fibbing, and exaggerating his age. Once M. Brisbois, Sr., accused him of it, when he confessed his frailty in that direction, with tears. He appears to have settled at Prairie du Chien, in 1791,[2] when he must have been quite a young man.

Among the early residents of Prairie du Chien, who became noted throughout the Northwest, was Joseph Rolette. He was a native of Canada, where he was born about 1787. He was, while young, an auctioneer's clerk, perhaps in Montreal, and was remarkably expert in catching and announcing the rapid bids made for goods offered at public sale. He appears to have located

[1] Cardinal was yet living in 1791, and for "some years after;" so he probably lived to see the commencement of the present century; and that Colas married his widow, as Mr. Brisbois relates, is corroborated in the *U. S. Public Lands*, iv. p. 868.

[2] *U. S. Public Lands*, iv, pp. 867, 868. For Rolette, see pp. 465–467, *post*.

at Prairie du Chien in 1804, when quite a young man. He early became a prominent and enterprising trader; and like other Canadian traders, he naturally sided with the British during the War of 1812–1815. Up to thirty years of age, he used no liquor or wine—an unusual occurrence for a trader, and died at about the age of sixty.

His perception was quick, and he had a wonderful power in calculating figures. Though not daring in his character, yet he would fight when necessary. He was disposed to be tricky. Once in crossing the river at Prairie du Chien, at a dangerous time, when the ice ran heavily, the late H. L. Dousman was one of the party with him. Rolette got so alarmed for his safety, that he solemnly promised that, if spared, he would devote one thousand dollars towards the erection of a Catholic church in Prairie du Chien. After no little hard work, the icy obstacles were at length overcome, and they approached the friendly shore in safety. On landing, while one foot was yet in the boat, Rolette exclaimed: "Collect it if you can; you haven't got my note for it!" Dousman so badgered him, that he subsequently paid it for the object promised.

Mrs. Kinzie, in her interesting work, *Wau Bun; or the Early Day in the North West,* has given a characteristic anecdote of Rolette.[1]

James Aird, a Scotchman, and Indian trader, was another early Prairie du Chien pioneer. He migrated from Mackinaw. He had many trading operations with Joseph Rolette. He died not very long prior to 1820—supposed from a beard of the wild rice getting in his throat. His death occurred in a building located where the Sherman House now is. He had no family. He was over six feet in height, and was greatly respected. Mr. Brisbois has no knowledge of Aird's brother George, mentioned in Capt. Anderson's narrative as among the traders about 1810.

[1] *Wis. Hist. Colls.,* ii, p. 150. In this volume, the late, Judge Rockwood gave many interesting reminiscences of Rolette; in vol. iii, of our *Collections,* Grignon narrates his services in 1814; and Smith, in his *Hist. of Wisconsin,* i, p. 411, shows Rolette was active at the capture of Mackinaw from the Americans in 1812. L. C. D.

He probably died not very long thereafter. The names of neither of the brothers appear among the volunteers against Prairie du Chien in 1814.

Capt. Henry M. Fisher, the earliest Anglo-American settler at Prairie du Chien, and mentioned by Capt. Pike in his *Travels* in 1805–1806, died of fever at this place in the fall of 1827, about fifty-seven years of age. He was over the common size, and as active as a cat. Mr. Brisbois does not know if Capt. Fisher was a Catholic; his children were baptized in the Catholic church—one of them, Mrs. Henry S. Baird, yet survives.

Of the capture of Prairie du Chien by the British, in 1814, Mr. Brisbois, though only eight years old at the time, has a very vivid recollection of that notable event, and its attendant circumstances. He can, however, give no particulars of the Indian leaders. It must have been at Kickapoo River, now Wauzeka, which was the locality of a former Fox village, twenty-one miles from Prairie du Chien, that Augustin Grignon and Michael Brisbois, Jr., with a Sioux and Winnebago Indian, left the main British force under Col. McKay, and went to Prairie du Chien to procure some person to take back to the colonel, from whom he could gain intelligence. Arriving in the night, they took Antoine Brisbois, residing three miles above the town, and brought him to the Ferry Place, on the Wisconsin, then called *Petit Gris*, some five or six miles from Prairie du Chien, where they left their canoe, and there awaited the arrival of Col. McKay. While yet in Prairie du Chien, young M. Brisbois, Jr., ventured to his father's residence, Michael Brisbois, Sr., and mounted a fence near by, to get as good a view as he could of one of the American gun-boats. Those on the boat noticing his too inquisitive observations, fired a rifle shot at him, the ball passing between his legs, and lodging in his father's house. This was not far from the American fort, and near the present Dousman residence.

Mr. Brisbois thinks Joseph Rolette was quite active during these operations. He was stationed on "the Point," some two-thirds of a mile above the fort; and was fired on by the Americans under Lieut. Perkins, from the fort on the mound. Thinks Capt. Yeizer, who commanded the gun-boats, was cowardly; he

cut the cables, and left; otherwise the British could have been repulsed; and being thus left without the aid of the gun-boats, Lieut. Perkins was compelled to surrender his fort to the British forces. Most of the citizens, Mr. Brisbois thinks, joined the British; though Joseph Crélie asserts that he "and many others" fled to the fort on the first alarm, and shared in the defence until the final surrender. Of the American cannon balls found in recent years, Hon. Horace Beach, of Prairie du Chien, has one, and the late Mrs. Dousman had two—fired from a three-pounder and lodged in a ridge nearly a mile from the fort, up the river, near where Rolette's party were stationed. Yeizer had several cannon on the gun-boats, and was *said* to have had two hundred and fifty men; while the British had only one small cannon. It was said that Col. McKay was fond of brandy; Mr. Brisbois can relate nothing else concerning him.[1]

While the British held Prairie du Chien, Antoine Dubois and one Champignier were sent several miles into the woods, to procure a supply of meat for the garrison, as related by Captain Anderson. They were both shot by a treacherous Sioux, at one discharge, killing Champignier outright, and mortally wounding Dubois. The latter made a trail of gunpowder, some five feet from the dead body of his companion, completely encompassing it, well knowing it would prove a protection against wolves; and then made his way, as best he could, to Prairie du Chien. This murderous attack on the two unsuspecting Frenchmen occurred in Giard's Coulee, some five or six miles west of the Mississippi. When a party repaired to the spot from Prairie du Chien, some

[1] Although there was much firing on both sides prior to the surrender, yet the actual damage was slight—the British and Indians suffering no loss. Capt. Grignon, in his "Recollections" in the third volume of the Society's *Collections*, states that Capt. Rolette was sent with dispatches to Mackinaw; and when his boat hove in sight of that island garrison, large numbers thronged the shore, anxious to obtain the earliest tidings from Prairie du Chien. "Capt. Rolette, what's the news?" "A great battle—a sanguinary contest." responded the heroic Rolette, with an air of great solemnity and importance. "How many were killed?" "None." "How many wounded?" "None." "What a bloody contest!" vociferously shouted the crowd, as they escorted the hero from the boat to the garrison. L. C. D.

thirty persons in all, including several youths not over fourteen years of age, they found Champignier's body untouched by the wolves, though the tracks of these animals were plenty *outside* of the powder line, but none *within*.

Two Sioux chiefs were apprehended, and confined in the fort as hostages until the culprit should be found; he was soon brought in, when the chiefs were released. The condemned Sioux was shot by six men, selected for the purpose, all firing a platoon together, just a little south of Dousman's mound, at the street where Mr. Dousman commenced a pond. Mr. Brisbois witnessed this execution, as did indeed the whole garrison, the inhabitants of the village, and such Indians as were present. The doomed Sioux had no sympathizers.[1] The wounded man, Dubois, lived some three days. Rolette's first wife was a sister to this unfortunate man; and, it may be added, Dubois' wife was a sister of the famous Sioux chief, Waupasha. La Pointe, as already stated, had also married a sister of this noted warrior.

When it was known that peace had been made between the United States and Great Britan, the British evacuated Prairie du Chien. In the succeeding night there was a meteoric shower, and the same night the fort burned down, causing its total destruction. It was quite generally supposed that it was set on fire by some of the British party, though some pretended it was caused by some stray meteor from the heavens.

Capt. Francis Dease, an old trader, is remembered by Mr. Brisbois. He figured at the capture of Prairie du Chien. He was rather a young appearing man in 1814, apparently some twenty-five years of age. No knowledge of his nationality. He was rather above the common size, with dark hair, and was fond of children. He may have commanded at Prairie du Chien, under orders of Col. Dickson in April, 1814, before the arrival of Americans there, as related by Dr. Neill; but Mr. Brisbois has no par-

[1] Capt. Anderson's narrative in this volume, and Grignon's "Recollections," Vol. iii, p. 279, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, give some further account of this affair.

L. C. D.

ticular recollection about it. Capt. Dease was living somewhere in the region of Manitoba, quite aged, as late as about 1865.[1]

Mr. Brisbois has no knowledge of the "Col. Diajon," mentioned in Capt. Anderson's narrative; he could not have been a resident of Prairie du Chien—he was probably a mere camp follower of McKay's troops, and retired with them.

Of Col. Robert Dickson, the famous British leader of the Sioux, Winnebagoes, and Menomonees, Mr. Brisbois has a good remembrance. He had a red head and a red face. When at Prairie du Chien, he always stopped with Mr. Brisbois, Sr., he would bring newspapers with him, and was a great reader. Has no knowledge of his son. Joseph K. Brown, a native of York County, Penn., and a discharged drummer from the army, went to Minnesota. He is favorably mentioned in Mr. Neill's *History* of that State, as an early trader, a member of the Wisconsin Territorial legislature, and of the Territorial council of Minnesota, and afterwards editor of the St. Paul *Pioneer*. He married a half Sioux daughter of Col. Dickson, and though partially educated, she did not turn out well.

Though he knew Capt. Duncan Graham, Mr. Brisbois can give no particulars of his career. He was a small sized man, quite

---

[1] *Hist. Minnesota,* fourth edition, p. 283; and p. 280 of the same work shows Dease and others were at Fond du Lac, Minnesota, collecting Chippewa warriors for the British service in 1812. Capt. Dease probably descended from Dr. John Dease, of the Mohawk valley, a friend of Sir Wm. Johnson, and one of his pall-bearers in 1774.

Capt. Francis Michael Dease, as I learn from his nephew, John Dease, of Pembina Co., Dakota, was born at Niagara, Aug. 10th, 1786. He seems to have taken part in the capture of Mackinaw from the Americans in 1812; probably served with Col. Robert Dickson on the Maumee in 1813; and shared in the capture of Prairie du Chien in 1814. He appears at this period to have filled the double position of sub-Indian agent under Col. Dickson, and captain of the militia of Prairie du Chien. His life was mostly devoted to the Indian trade, and he was engaged in both the North West Fur Company, and the Hudson's Bay Company service. He was never married, and died on Red River, now Manitoba, Aug. 15th, 1865, at the age of 79 years.

L. C. D.

unassuming, upright in his intercourse with his fellow-men, and highly respected.[1]

At a very early period, one Grant was said to have penetrated the country on what is now Grant River, discovered lead there, mined some of it, and buried the mineral. He went away, and never returned for it. As late as 1827, Joseph Brisbois, B. W.

---

[1] In Grignon's narrative, in the third volume of the *Wis. Hist. Collections*, as well as in Capt. Anderson's narrative in the present volume, Duncan Graham's British services at Prairie du Chien are fully mentioned. Gen. H. H. Sibley, of St Paul, writes to the editor of this work: "I knew Capt. Graham well. He was the father-in-law of Alexander Faribault, lately deceased, who was the founder of the flourishing town that bears his name. Capt. Graham was an officer in the British Indian department, and was present in command of a party of Dakota or Sioux warriors, composing a portion of the force that was defeated by Col. Croghan at Lower Sandusky in 1813. He became a citizen of the United States subsequent to the war, and traded with the Sioux Indians for many years. I am under the impression that he died in 1844, or '45, at Wabasha, where he had been living with his son-in-law, Joseph Buisson. He must have been seventy-five years old or more at the time of his demise; and for several years previously had passed his leisure days in going from one part of this wild region to another, being a man of remarkable physical vigor, although of slight build.

Mr. Neill, in his *Hist. of Minnesota*, relates, on the authority of Gen. Sibley, that the crop of 1819 having failed in Lord Selkirk's colony on Red River, Duncan Graham, with one Laidlaw, was employed in the spring of 1820 to conduct three boats from Prairie du Chien, laden with two hundred bushels of wheat, one hundred bushels of oats, and thirty bushels of peas, to Pembina. This timely supply cost Lord Selkirk about $6,000.

Capt. Graham was a native of the Highlands of Scotland, descending from a good family. He appears to have shared with Robert Dixon and the Indians in the campaign of 1813 on Maumee, and at Fort Stevenson, and the next year at Prairie du Chien, and the Rock River Rapids. He married a half-breed Dakota woman—a descendant of Penechon, a noted Sioux chief said to have been the son of a white trader of that name, who lived on the eastern shore of Lake Pepin—and as the Indians used to relate, the first white man ever seen by their ancestors. Capt. Graham had one son, Alexander, and four daughters,—the latter marrying respectively Hon. Alexander Faribault, Hon. James Wells, Joseph Buisson, and Oliver Cratt—all now dead except Mrs. Buisson, and all leaving numerous descendants. For his war services, Capt. Graham was granted lands in Canada, which from litigation never realized him anything. He is said to have been the first white man who penetrated so far in the Northwest as the Devil's Lake, in Dakota, an island in which was named after him. See also p. 467, *post*.

L. C. D.

Brisbois, and Julien Larriviere went in quest of the hidden mineral, searching all along to the head of the river, but found none. B. W. Brisbois used to hear his father speak of Grant; and he is very likely the person mentioned in Pike's *Travels,* in 1805–1806, as among the Sioux of that period. Mr. Brisbois has no further traditions of him. Grant River took its name from him, and his early lead discovery there, and Grant County took its name from the river.

Neill in his *History of Minnesota,* refers to Cuthbert Grant, an Englishman, as late as 1816; and in his index, couples him with the old Sioux trader, Grant, referred to in Pike's *Travels.* Grant led the party that, in June, 1816, attacked and killed Gov. Semple, of the Hudson's Bay Company, as related in Neill's work. Judging from his name, and from his association with Robert Dickson, Grant was not an Englishman, but a Scotchman; and ended his days as a trader among the Sioux Indians. He has descendants in Dakota and Manitoba.

Waupasha, the distinguished Sioux chief, derived his name in part from *wa-pa,* leaf, called The Leaf, or Red Leaf. The French called him *La Feuille, The Leaf*—sometimes *The Falling Leaf.* His village was at the present locality of Winona. He was a full blooded Sioux, rather small in size, with a Roman nose, and Caucasian countenance. Once when cutting a willow, his knife caught, and accidentally destroyed one of his eyes, and he ever after wore a black handkerchief over that half of his face. He died of smallpox, at Prairie du Chien, in the fall of 1835. He was sixty or more years of age. He was one of the most distinguished of the Dakotas.

One of the Carimaunee family of Winnebagoes was known as Tête de Chien, or Dog's Head. He lived in 1827, at English Prairie, now Muscoda. He was a prominent man, of considerable good sense, and very honest. The Indians cultivated some fields there, and lived there as one of their changeable localities. Lawrence Rolette, a brother of Joseph Rolette, had a trading establishment at that locality.

Pierre Pauquette related to Mr. Brisbois this incident. Once Governor Doty was traveling with an Indian, and pointing to

Fox River, asked its native name. Supposing the Governor meant the *element,* and not its particular geographical name, the Indian responded "Neenah," water. Doty not doubting that he had now learned its aboriginal name, endeavored to have it restored, but did not succeed to any great extent. Pauquette cited this as a case in point, showing how geographical blunders sometimes occur.[1]

Baribeau, or Baribault, was the name of an old Canadian French trader, who had his trading-post on what is now known as Baraboo River, and which stream took its name from him. As M. Brisbois, Sen'r, knew him well, and often spoke of him, he must have traded there the latter part of the last century, or early in this. Mr. Brisbois does not know what became of him, or anything further of his history.

The name of Wisconsin has a Chippewa derivation, but Mr. Brisbois can tell nothing of its origin or meaning. From the Winnebago chief, Waukon-Haka, or Snake-Skin, Mr. Brisbois learned that the Winnebagoes referred to the Wisconsin as the *Neekoonts-Sara,* or Gathering River; *neekoonts,* river, and *sara,* gathering—hence, *a river having many tributaries.*

Lamanwoi was the old pronunciation of what is now known by the more euphonious name of Lemonweir; but Mr. Brisbois has no knowledge of its origin or signification.

The Indians never speak of the Mississippi as *the Father of Waters*—that is rather fanciful; but invariably refer to it as *the Big River.* The Winnebagoes called it *Neekoonts-Hahtakah*—

---

[1] Hon. M. L. Martin writes to the editor, giving a somewhat different version of the origin of this word Neenah, as applied to Fox River; though the general agreement as to the blunder remains. "Col. Petteval," writes Judge Martin, "an engineer sent by secretary of war, Poinsett, during Van Buren's administration, to make a survey of Fox River, with a view to its improvement, gave it the name of Neenah in his report. It had never before been known by that name. It is said that he found Indians, when making his explorations between Green Bay and Lake Winnebago, from whom he got the word Neenah, by taking water in his hand from the river, and asking them what it was. They answered, of course, that it was Neenah, water; and from this circumstance, trifling in itself, the name was derived." L. C. D.

the former part of that compound word, *neekoonts*, meaning river, and *hahtakah*, large. The Sioux called it *Watpa-Tonga; watpa*, river and *tonga*, large. The Sauks designated it as *Mecha-Sapo;* the Menomonees, *Mecha-Sepua;* the Kickapoos, *Meche-Sepe;* the Chippewas, *Meze-Zebe;* and the Ottawas, *Missis-Sepi*. In all these slight variations, *mecha, meche, meze,* and *missis,* all mean the same thing—large or big; and *sapo, sepua, sepe, zebe,* and *sepi,* all mean river.

When a daughter is born, the rejoicing is great, as the woman never follows her husband, but brings into the family-circle another hunter. The woman is really the guardian of the man. When men indulge in a carousal, the mother, wife, daughter or sister take all care imaginable that they come to no harm, concealing guns, knives, and all hurtful articles, keeping close watch over them, and guarding them from falling into the fire, etc., etc.

In their wanderings and movings from one place to another, the woman carries on her back all of the movable articles, such as the poles and mats for the wigwam, and in addition the pappoose. The man walks with his gun on his shoulder. If there is a horse, the man rides it. When there are many small children, these are sometimes placed on a pony—at other times the mother has more than one to carry. Those who are not too young, are expected, and made, to walk.

Old women have certain work allotted to them, such as making mats, and taking care of the children, when too old to cut up trees, or carry heavy loads—Indians never fell a tree, but use its branches.

Indian Customs Compared with Oriental

The stationary wigwams or winter quarters are fitted up with a sort of ottoman or platform encircling them, upon which they sit by day, and sleep at night. Indians, like the Orientals, are fond of story telling. These are both imaginative and traditional. Many an entertaining story has been told the writer which rivaled any ever read. A good story-teller is an important personage, possessing great attractions, is entertained by all, and followed from wigwam to wigwam.

The Orientals hold their hands above a basin, and the servant pours water on them. Whilst the hands are still wet, they are passed over the face and beard. Indians perform their ablutions by filling the mouth with water, thence spouting it over the hands, and carrying the water to the face, if the face is washed at all.

Some of the ideas and views held by this people may be found in the Bible; for instance, their mode of wearing the hair—see 1 Corinthians, chap. xi. A woman with short hair would remain

concealed for months, rather than be seen with her hair cut, for it is considered an open disgrace, and a mark of degradation. A man with long hair is equally obnoxious, and not at all respected. "Indian nature is inflexible, and peculiarly under control of custom."

Manner of Mourning for the Dead

The reverence and veneration shown by the Indians to the memory and last resting place of their departed friends, is worthy of imitation. On a moon-lit night, persons may be seen by the graves exhibiting all degrees of feeling; perhaps a young woman displaying a condition of deep melancholy, or perchance an old crone loudly lamenting. Both males and females blacken their faces when mourning, and go uncombed for a certain period. A woman besides blackening her face, is all in tatters, and keeps up a constant wailing and sobbing. A man is almost naked, and is painted black all over. He keeps up the wail, but more quietly, unless intoxicated, which both sexes will be, if possible, at the time of mourning. It is a widow's *duty* to go, for the season of mourning, with blackened face and neglected person.

Manner of Burial

Each tribe differs in the mode of disposing of their dead. Some lay them on the ground, and build a roof either of cedar or birch bark over them, planting a stake at the head, on which is painted with vermilion, all sorts of hieroglyphics, describing all the great deeds, if it be at the grave of a man; if that of a woman, very little paint or praise is applied.

Others erect a scaffold up in, or between two trees, and place their dead upon it, with all their traveling and hunting equipage about them. All places of the dead are marked at the head with a small white flag, emblem of peace and joy, and of future happiness. If the deceased be a man, the following articles are placed by his side: His gun, trap, pipe, war-club, flint, steel and punk, wampum, ornaments, some food, and a kettle. If a woman, a little food, a kettle, and a few ornaments. If a child, food alone is placed by it. A fire is kindled near the grave, or scaffold, and it is kept up for four days, as that is the length of time allotted

a Red Man to reach a resting place in the spirit land, where he arrives either at the "beautiful prairies," the "broad river," "lakes," or "deep and beautiful forests."

Should the fire at the grave be neglected and go out, it will be detrimental to the deceased, as a detention must occur. The *chee-baum* (spirit or ghost), in this case, must stop to rekindle his own fire every night for the rest of his journey. Should the steel, flint and punk be forgotten, and the fire go out at the grave it is believed that the risk of not finding the good land is very great, and the ghost or spirit becomes a wanderer.

It used to be the custom to bury a young child at sunrise, a middle-aged person at noon, and an elderly person at sunset. These customs were of the ancient time; the more modern mode of burial is to deposit very little on the graves; only food and fire instruments are placed there, whether for an adult or child. But the fire is attended with equal assiduity, otherwise the *chee-baum* in search of the good land will not reach it.

When a warrior dies, all the distinguished and respected men and women are invited to partake of the feast of the dead, that he may safely travel on his journey. The food is cooked by a sacred fire; all the food must be distributed to the relatives, or a chosen few. The dead are kept three or four days, and the feast goes on. Drums are beaten, alternating with singing and crying, and then the exploits and noble deeds of the deceased are related.

The Indian Idea of the Other World

It is a land of prairies, or plains, beautiful groves, charming lakes and rivers. Exquisite sounds and the singing of birds fill the air. Great herds of buffalo, moose, deer, etc., roam the woods and prairies.

The paradise of tribes who live near the lakes and rivers, is made up of enchanting streams, filled with all kinds of large and beautiful fish. They believe that in the next world, they will be changed into some animal; the good into noble creatures, such as the horse, the elk, the deer, etc. The bad will become a dog, cat, or some other inferior animal; hence when a mother finds her child unmanageable, comes the saying: "You

will be a bad dog." So great is the love the Indian bears for certain localities, that some tribes when about to leave their country, go through a regular funeral ceremony, and burn the scalps which their ancestors may have gotten in their several wars. Since the use of fire-arms among them, the ceremony closes with a discharge of several guns.

Thanksgiving

Instead of thanksgiving after the gifts from on high are received, the Indian invokes in advance the blessing which we take as our own right.

In early spring, as soon as the waters will float the light canoe, all the different bands assemble at a certain spot in view of the coming planting time, to call upon the Great Spirit, *Kichi-Manitou,* to look down upon them, to see, learn, and pity their wants.

In all Indian nations there are many tribes, as they are called. For instance, the bands who live near the water, subsist upon fish, wild rice and wild potatoes, which grow upon the borders of the rivers. They are good navigators as well as swimmers. Then there are those who live in the interior of the country, who are good hunters, good horsemen, and good warriors, living on meat almost exclusively. But both will plant corn.

In their meeting, each band will adhere to its own mode of living. The first band mentioned making a feast of fish, the other band a feast of meat, but each partakes of the others' feast.

The first fruits of the season must be offered to the Great Spirit. A man who will eat, or use in any manner, the first fish he catches in the spring, need expect no good luck through the year. So with the first deer, or any other game, and so too with the corn; first of each must serve as an offering to *Kichi-Manitou.* Even now, the Indians who have not been Christianized, adhere to this custom.

The Gods of the Indians

Indians believe in many gods. One class adore the sun, moon, stars, and the thunder; another worship birds and beasts. A turtle is one of their favorite gods. An Indian offers a sacrifice to his idols. When a sacrifice is offered to beasts, a dog is usually

sacrificed. To the turtle, especially, a sacrifice is offered in order that the worshiper may be kept from harm. Another class believe in and adore reptiles. These are very much feared and hated by some, as being inspired by the gods to evil deeds.

The Idols Schens-gab-as-sin

The larger idols are of granite, which through time have, by the action of water, been fashioned into curious shapes. To a large one is offered daily sacrifice, and it is exposed to view; but the small idols, or gods, are kept in the most holy of holy places, the *mush-qui-mode,* which is a sort of bag or pouch, in which is carried roots and herbs, and it is always carried about the person. The medicine-man carries his idol in a fur pouch, together with other important matters pertaining to the Great Medicine Lodge. A dog is the favorite sacrifice to be offered to these gods. Tobacco is offered to appease an angry being.

Shens-gab-as-sin is, translated, *stone image, or god.* "One seeking for life eternal was turned into a *Shens-gab-as-sin.*"

Signs, and Their Significance

The wampum is used by the Indian to express various meanings. A bunch of wampum of several strings, fastened at one end to a piece of tobacco painted red, is a message of war. A bunch of the same, with the tobacco painted green, is an emblem of peace. When the wampum appears with the tobacco painted blue, it is a particular life that is sued for—a person whose life it is desired may be spared. This is sent only to those who have it in their power to save from death the one designated. As blue is the color of the sky or day, so the day, or life, is asked for by the blue on the tobacco.

Attaining Manhood

A youth is not considered a man until he has undergone a certain ordeal. It is ordered that when a young man has passed twenty summers, his father, if he has one, shall take charge of the fasting through which he is to pass. If his father is not living, then his paternal uncle assumes the duty.

The young man now goes upon the highest rock or mountain

accessible, and there without food or water remains until he has a dream—ten days, if necessary. Whatever he dreams is to be his fate or destiny. Unless the young man dreams of snakes, no complaint is ever made against these dreams. In case he does dream of snakes, he comes down, and relates the dream to his guardian, whether father or uncle. They pronounce against it, saying: "My child, this must not be; we cannot give you up so easily to the Evil Spirit. You must strive against him. Are you ready to strive against your enemy?" On the young man declaring his readiness to do so, the old man takes a chip, and scrapes the young man's tongue several times, and on every part, so as to cleanse it entirely before he swallows food. Then for one day he is permitted to eat food, and again he goes to his place of fasting. Again he fasts in the same manner, and stays another ten days, if necessary. Should he again dream of snakes, he has to undergo the same cleansing of the tongue, but this time he eats for two days, and again returns to the top of the mountain.

When his dreams are pleasant, he comes home, and is carefully nursed, only small portions of food are administered at a time, lest he might die from over-eating. All this torture, aye, even at the risk of his life, will an Indian undergo rather than to live in anticipation of evil to himself or his children. The pleasanter the dream, the more tender is the care bestowed upon the dreamer. All care is shown to one who is likely to be happy, as evidenced by these propitious indications.

War Party

"A man designing to raise a war party, proclaims his purpose through the village, sings his war song, strikes his hatchet into the war post, and dances the war dance, anyone who chooses joins him, and the party usually take up their march at once, with a little parched cornmeal, and maple sugar, as their sole provision."

This party is made up of the brave men of a tribe—and all are brave—who go in quest of an enemy, or to revenge a blow received. Such a time is one of great anxiety to the women. On the return of the party, they, by way of notifying the women, give, as soon as they are within hearing, the war-cry of triumph; and, if need be, a death wail.

Death Wail—*Chee-Kwau-Dum,*

this indicates how many have fallen. This death-wail is a most dreadful sound, impossible to describe. It must be heard to fully appreciate all the horror a tone can convey. A warrior's greatest ornament is an eagle's feather, as the eagle soars the highest, and is the bravest of birds.

Different Dances

The *wau-bo-no* is nothing more nor less than what we call a ball. It is given merely for pleasure, and is danced by men and women together, not in figures, however, but in this wise: he who gives a *wau-bo-no* furnishes the music, which consists of a drum, and a *shee-shee-gwun,* a large rattle made of a gourd. With this, the host beats time to a song which he sings. One man, or a woman, as the case may be, now arises, and dances at a slow pace around the wigwam. The others fall into place, one by one, until all that wish to dance have joined in. They go round and round the wigwam, and loud is the song, the beating of the drum, and the rattle; but very, very monotonous, neither meritorious nor gay. All join at the beginning, and dance until it is finished. There is no coming in later allowed, nor dropping out. Those who begin, always see the end.

Medicine Dance

This is only for those who belong to this order. None can join in it who have not been duly received, or initiated. It is of a religious nature, a ceremony in which vows are made, or renewed to the gods, invoking their aid in the cure of all sick, and against all ills. Women as well as men belong to this order, also little children are taken in, under the care of a guardian or good spirit. Invitations are given to these dances by sending sticks to those who have been initiated. These sticks are small, about six inches in length, painted with a little vermilion.

The Scalp Dance

It differs from the war dance in that it is much more frightful. The scalps are carried on the end of a pole, usually borne by women. They grow more and more excited as the dance goes on,

and finally seem to become perfectly mad, giving out the most discordant and deafening sounds. The writer on one occasion, as will be found related hereafter, saw them carry on poles human hands and feet, and in their hair was strung strips of flesh, from which blood dripped down on the face. For each dance different painting is required. For the fancy or social dance, the body is left nearly bare, and the face and arms are painted over in as elegant a manner as possible.

One who can boast of many scalps, wears an equal number of eagle feathers. Others must content themselves with the feathers of the wild turkey. When all are ready for the dance, the men begin, by a short kind of step, to move toward the place of performance to the sound of a *shee-shee-gwun*, or rattle. There they form a circle, and begin to dance in a most furious manner. The squaws stand around, seldom joining in, except with their shrill notes; yet sometimes as the dance grows wilder, they will catch the excitement, and forming a circle outside the braves, will dance with demoniac fury. The dance never stops until the dancers are compelled to cease from sheer exhaustion. The Indians always keep remarkably good time.

Courtship

When a youth falls in love with some dusky maiden, the sole way he has of making it known is by placing himself a little ways from the wigwam where the maiden—"thinking of a hunter, young and tall, and very handsome"—has her home. The lover wears one blue legging, and one red one. If it is possible, he seats himself on a hill-side overlooking the habitation of his lady-love; when this is impossible, he will choose a place near by from whence he can see and be seen, and there plays on the flute, *pib-pi-gwan*. The air he plays is in a minor strain, never lively. If he is permitted to play undisturbed he knows he is understood, and that no objections are made to his addressing the loved one. If the parents have any objections to him, he is soon made to know it. A message is sent him that he is too noisy, etc. If he receives such a message, he never returns. If he does not receive such reproof, in a short time the flute-playing gives place to visits.

The young man upon arriving at the wigwam is received and saluted by the father only, who, if he is pleased with him, greets him in some such manner as this: "Come in, friend, there is room for you." Upon which all of the family, many or few in number, give a sort of a hitch up, to make room for one more at the family circle around the fire. The young man seats himself by the door and next to the daughter, as the eldest son and daughter always sit nearest the door, on each side of it. The father or mother sit in the back of the wigwam, directly opposite the door-way, and the fire is always placed in the center; the younger children sit on each side between the parents and the elder children. The young man, after taking his seat by his lady-love, produces a few small pine sticks, something in shape like our matches. He lights one at the fire, and hands it to the maiden; if she takes it, he is accepted, if she does not, but lets him hold it until it goes out, he is rejected.

Matrimony

The matrimonial arrangements vary among the Indians. A favorite method is to betroth children when quite young. When in later years the time arrives that they are to be united, the parents of the young man bring valuable presents, such as furs, and other things prized by an Indian. The parents of the bride bring all kinds of ornamental work, wrought by themselves. These are distributed among the friends.

The bride is dressed by her sister-in-law, and then is conducted to her place in the wigwam to await alone the coming of her husband. At other times the parents of the young people make the contract for the marriage. Often the young man has not met the maiden that his parents have chosen to be his wife. In this case, as in the other, the young man's father and mother send gifts to the parents of the young woman whom they wish to secure as a daughter-in-law. If these gifts are accepted, the affair goes on; otherwise it terminates immediately. In most cases the young man goes to his wife's home; but there are exceptions to this, in which she becomes an inmate of his home.

As to the number of wives a man may possess, it all depends upon his success as a hunter. He can have as many wives as

may be required to dress his game and carry it home. When he hunts, whatever he kills he leaves on the ground, except small game that he can hang to his belt. But a deer, bear, or other large animal he will leave, and thither the wife must go, cut it up, and carry it home.

Other Customs, etc.

A woman who dreams of snakes cannot expect to raise her children; and when it is known that a maiden has had such a dream it often interferes with her marriage. Indians are very fond of ornaments, trinkets, especially looking-glasses, small pieces of which they will wear at their belt.

Wampum shells, or strings of shells, are used by Indians as money. These when united form a broad belt, which is worn as an ornament, or girdle. Loose strings of it are worn as necklaces, by the men, but never by the women. The most important of its uses are, however, those of communication, as has been already indicated. A girl or woman who is found guilty of misbehavior, has either her ears or nose cut off.

Indians are very particular about the kind of wood they burn. They never use wood that snaps in burning. As their fire is always in the center of the wigwam, and around which they sleep, one can readily see the danger they would incur from the use of such wood.

The Orientals used as a light, little sprigs of resinous wood, which burn brightly, but with much more smoke than flame. These little sticks are held in the hand, at the risk of spreading the lighted pitch on all surrounding objects. Neither in the villages, nor even in the small towns, do they know what a candle or candlestick is. So with the Indian, who burns a flambeau of birch bark, or pine knots, when anything more than the light of the fire is needed. The Indian as well as the Turk is smoking at all times.

Indians have this marked peculiarity, that they never speak their own names, and very rarely will they mention the name of any member of their family. Ask an Indian his name, and he will tell you that his friend, if he has one with him, will tell you,

or that his son or daughter will tell you. Neither will he say "my wife," but he will always say "she," and the wife will speak of her husband as "he." In speaking of the children, their names will not be mentioned, but they will be called first born, or youngest, etc. Names seem to be given for purely ornamental purposes, and not for use.

One tribe is very much afraid of another tribe; so great is this fear that it can hardly be measured. Prisoners of war become slaves.

The Pappoose

Indian babies are wonderfully well-behaved. The reason, we imagine, is one that might be profitably pondered over by many a mother. The baby is strapped to a board, and there remains quietly most of the time, and is not tossed, twirled, rolled and tumbled till it can hardly breathe, as many a baby we wot of is; hence the pappooses seem always serene. Colic, surely isn't jounced into them.

The Legend of the Red Swan

This legend is one that seems prophetic, and to refer to these days of railroads. It happened, once upon a time that a young man was out hunting, and as he journeyed he come to the shore of a beautiful lake, and there he saw, floating a red swan.

"To his bow he whispered, 'Fail not'!
To his arrow whispered 'swerve not,'
Sent it singing on its errand."

And as he shot, the swan flew upwards, taking its course towards the West, and leaving in its track an exquisitely mellow hue, which the young man followed. At night-fall he came most unexpectedly upon a wigwam; upon arriving at the door-way he looked in, and saw there an old man, and his daughter, a beautiful maiden. The old man was engaged in making bows and arrows. The daughter was making moccasins. The old man gave him the usual welcome, saying: "Come in, my son, sit you here. My daughter, prepare food for the stranger who has came in upon us," and, as he sat there with them, the young hunter related the adventures of the day, and asked if they had seen anything of the

red swan. "Yes," replied the old man, "yes, we have seen it; but you are very far from it, for it passed here early in the day; but I will give you something to increase your speed, and you may overtake it if you faint not."

The young girl, at her father's bidding, repaired the moccasins of the young man, and prepared him to pursue his journey the next day. The next morning the young man arose, and looked out. He could still see the red streak in the sky left behind by the swan. He then turned to the old man, and begged him to give him his daughter. The old man replied: "Prove yourself worthy of her by overtaking the red swan. If you do this, she is yours."

The youth made an early start, and followed the track left by the swan, all that day. At night he came again to another wigwam, and found there an old man and his daughter, each occupied as were the two he had met the evening before; and from them he received the same greeting and treatment as had previously been given him. This day differing only from the other, in that the swan had passed the wigwam at a little later hour, and the daughter was more beautiful than the one met the preceding evening. The wooing of this one brought out the same answer: "Prove yourself worthy of her by overtaking the red swan. If you do this, she is yours."

Nine successive days passed by, each offering the same circumstances and conditions, save only, that each daughter was more beautiful than the last met, and the hopeful news was given that the red swan had passed at a later hour each day.

On the tenth day, the sky was perfectly crimson in its splendor, and the young man, fleet of foot, felt that he was nearing the prized object. Again in the twilight, he arrived at the door of a wigwam, and looking in, saw there an old man, sitting alone. Over a small fire was a cauldron, in which roots and herbs were boiling. The old man was absorbed in his duties, muttering to himself strange words. He did not look up, nor make any sign of welcome to the young man; but as the hunter was weary and hungry, and had met with similar habitations at the close of each day's journey, he was doubtless more daring than he would have

been otherwise, and entered the wigwam unbidden. The old man at once showed much annoyance and displeasure, and said: "Who gave you permission to enter here, and interrupt me?" The young man seeing at once that he had offended, hastened to tell his adventures of the past ten days, and in conclusion asked how recently the red swan had passed the wigwam. As the young hunter talked on, the old man grew more and more uneasy. The young man now perceived that the wigwam was all aglow and luminous with a bright warm light that reminded him of the red swan, but he made no comment.

After eating and sleeping as usual, in the morning, he asked if the marks of the red swan were still as near, and if the old man thought he could overtake the swan? The old man replied, "You have proved yourself very brave, you have acted like a warrior, now you shall be rewarded." Opening the mat door he brought out the red swan, his daughter, the most beautiful maiden the youth had ever beheld. "Take her," said the old man, "to your own land and hunting ground, and be happy. *Ki-Chi Man-i-tou* will watch over you. It shall not take you as long to return as it has to come; the earth will be drawn up, you shall see it."

Now taking a piece of buckskin the old man cut from it a round piece—"this" he said "is the earth." Putting it before the fire, the heat caused it to shrivel up, then giving it to the young man he said: "Take this and throw it in the direction that you wish to go, and you will travel in one day the distance that you were ten days traveling. You will reach your home this night, stopping besides at each of the wigwams where the promised wives await you."

Reminiscences of Mackinaw

My earliest recollections of Mackinaw, which date back to 1814, are perfectly delightful. All about the island was so fresh and fair. True, the houses were quaint and old; however, they were but few, not enough to mar the beauty, but rather to add to the charms of the little crescent-shaped village.

How vividly I still see the clear, shining broad beach of white pebbles and stones, and clear blue water of the "Basin." The houses were of one story, roofed with cedar bark. Some of the

fishermen's residences were entirely covered with bark in the place of clap-boards. Every house had its garden enclosed with cedar pickets, about five feet in height, making a close enclosure. This was white-washed, as were also the dwelling-houses, and the fort as well, giving the entire place more the appearance of a fortress than an ordinary village.

One street, if it may be called so, ran from one point of the crescent to the other, and as near the water's edge as the beach would permit, the pebbles forming a border between the water and road. The other street, for there are but two, is a short one, which runs back of the front street. A foot-path in the middle of the street was all that was needed. Weeds grew luxuriantly on each side of the trail; those next to the enclosures were almost as high as the pickets. There were no vehicles of any description on the island in those early days, except dog-trains or sleds in the winter. Hence, the weeds had it all their own way.

The natural curiosities of the island seemed more wonderful in those days, because reached with so much difficulty. The surroundings were wild, and no carriage road led up to them. A visit to the Arched Rock, and the Sugar Loaf, made a high holiday. Ascending the hills in the outset, to get the fine view from above; we then followed a rough path which led through a thick growth of pines, cedar, and juniper. The view that rewarded our exertions was grand, but it needed a good guide to reach and enjoy it. In returning we descended by way of "Robinson's Folly," and so on down, reaching home by the beach. The whole island is a rock, covered with grass, cedar, juniper, and some pines. Among our favorite walks, was one to Fort Holmes, which is on the highest hill of the island.

Small fruits, such as the wild strawberry, raspberry, and gooseberry were abundant on the island; and the surrounding islands abounded in huckleberries, blackberries, and sand cherries. These were the sole varities of fruit known to the writer in childhood.

Mackinaw is a true summer home, but I loved it in the winter, with its mountains of ice. The isolation of the place was great—eight months of the year were passed in seclusion from the outside world; communication with it was impossible. But the other

four months of the year made up for it all. About the middle of October navigation closed. How well I remember the quiet of the place. Once a month the mail came, when it didn't miss.

The religion of the inhabitants was Roman Catholic. There was no regular priest stationed there, but one came occasionally. We had no schools, and no amusements except private parties, and these were principally card parties. All ladies played whist and piquet. The other set had their balls. The children were happy in making houses in the snow-drifts, and in sliding down hill, or coasting, as it is now called. In the autumn of 1823, the ice made very early, but owing to high winds and a strong current in the straits, the ice would break up over and over again, and was tossed to and fro, until it become piled up in clear, towering, blue masses. These immense blocks extended from island to island, block piled upon block to a great height, so that all that met the eye were beautiful mountains of ice, with gorges of exquisite light and shade. A beautiful sight, indeed, on a sunny day. As soon as the mass became sufficiently solid, the soldiers—for Mackinaw had been a military post for years, held in turn by the French, British, and Americans—and the fishermen turned out and cut a road through the ice from one island to the other. This was necessary, as fire-wood had to be procured from the opposite island. The fishermen also had to cut places for their nets.

A sleigh-ride through that road-way was novel and grand; and in a dog-sled it was at times in a degree terrifying. On each side a high wall of ice, nothing to be seen but the sky above; the road so winding that one seemed hemmed in by the high masses of ice, until a sharp turn brought him into the road again. With horse and cutter, which at a late date had been introduced on the island, it was a charming drive-way.

Some seasons the lakes and basins would be clear of ice, except as great cakes of it would fill the shore; it was piled so high at times, as to exclude all sight of the water, except through occasional glacial openings. Other seasons the ice would be as smooth as possible. Spring always came late at Mackinaw, and it used

to be the custom to plant a May-pole on the frozen surface. Quoting from a friend's diary, we find: "1837, May 1st, May-pole put on the ice today. Monday, May 8th, May-pole renewed, and flags added to it. Ice in basin good."

Mackinaw, or as the Indians formerly named it, Machilimackinac, "The Great Turtle," was, in those days, called the emporium of the West, a town of extensive commerce. All the fur-traders went there to sell their furs, and buy their goods. Prior to the establishment of the American Fur Company by John Jacob Astor, the Hudson's Bay Company occupied the island in the same manner, as a depot. All the goods for this large trade came from Montreal in birch bark canoes, by way of Niagara Falls. All goods and canoes were carried past the rapids on the backs of the Indians. It made most exciting times when *Le Canneau du Nord* came, arriving sometimes as early as June, and bringing from Montreal merchants, and merchandise. As the canoes neared the town, there would come floating on the air, the far-famed Canadian boat-song. How plainly I hear it now! Then the voyageur came in with furs, and then the Indians, and the little island seemed to overflow with human beings. These exciting, busy times would last from six weeks to two months, then would follow the quiet, uneventful, and to some, dreary days, yet to most, days that passed happily.

Reminiscences of Green Bay

In early autumn of the year 1824—September 20th—the writer, with friends, arrived at Green Bay. We came by the schooner "Jackson," commanded by Capt. John Burnham. We were eight days in making the two hundred miles. Coming up the Fox River, we saw on the western shore the military post of Fort Howard, which presented to us a beautiful, though somewhat lonely, appearance. A few rods south of the fort were two houses, and at the north was a large garden, comprising its sole surroundings. The eastern shore was covered with dense woods.

Gen. Gaines, at that time an elderly gentleman, fine looking and very agreeable, was one of our party on board the "Jackson." We cast anchor opposite the fort, and received from thence a salute

in honor of the general. Soon the fort barge came out to the schooner, and the soldiers and officers in full uniform came aboard. Altogether the display was both formal and formidable, although the detention was not agreeable. At length our distinguished passenger was taken off, and we continued on our way.

About a quarter of a mile up the river, on the east side, we came to the first house to be met with on that shore. This building was both house and store, painted red, and owned by Kelso. It stood about on the site where Cook's Hotel now is, facing the river, and entirely surrounded by woods.

The next house was situated a few rods farther south. It was a large square building, in the middle of a large green plat, and was owned by Pierre Grignon. Back of this was another residence, which belonged to the ancestors of the Grignons, the Langlades. The large house was afterwards purchased by Judge John P. Arndt, who converted it into a hotel, the first in Green Bay.

About a mile farther up the river, we cast anchor opposite Judge Lawe's residence. And ah, how charming this noble Fox River appeared! There were no docks, nor wharfs along the shore, and as this was our landing-place, we were taken ashore in the schooner's yawl.

The residences on each side of the river were small. On the western shore were small farms, and smaller houses, looking like the homes of the French in Canada.

We landed directly in front of Judge Lawe's house, which stood but a few rods back from the river, with only a clean grass plat between it and the water, and to which a foot-path led up.

This was not enclosed by fences, and fences were rarely seen except to define the farms across the river. No front yards were seen, every house being built on, or near the road. Streets there were none, only a foot-path leading along the river, and from which others diverged up to each residence, of which there were but few.

In the whole place there was not a hotel, not even a private boarding place. But all of the families living here were hospitable, and expected to entertain strangers, which was easily done, they were so few. All the society we found at this locality was

French. The Lawes and Grignons were the leading families of the place. Judge Lawe was a gentleman, hospitable, and generous to a fault. He and his family were remarkably kind to strangers, making their guests feel always perfectly at home. His house was large and low, with additions. Although not fenced, yet east of his residence was an enclosure of several acres, including in it, what is now the residence of Mr. C. H. White. There was a pond at the foot of the hill, and here swam wild geese, and domesticated ducks and geese. Deer were always kept within the enclosure, and it well deserved the name of park.

At the north, disconnected from the Lawe homestead, was a beautiful garden which extended to what is now the home of Mr. John Jacobs. This garden was made, and kept in order, by Mr. Paul Ducharme, uncle of Mr. Joseph Ducharme, of Allouez. In the middle of the garden, was a handsome little house occupied by Mr. Ducharme. North of the garden, was an old building which was called the jail.

Continuing north, we come to the Jourdan homestead, now the old Miller place. The house then stood where the large building east of it now stands. Eleazer Williams married his wife, then Miss Madeline Jourdan, in that house.

Still farther north, stood a little Roman Catholic Chapel, occupying the eastern corner of the site, where later the old "Bank Building" was placed, and east of this was the graveyard, taking in about a square. Graves were at one time underlying what is now Adams street.

Now going south from Judge Lawe's, we find the residence of Mr. Louis Grignon. Mr. Grignon was a gentleman of the old school. He spoke very little English, but his French was elegant. His house was large and pleasant, of one story, and made most attractive with its rustic furniture. Indian mats were used in place of carpets; which, indeed, every French family at that time used. Mr. Grignon had a houseful of handsome daughters, which made his home both pleasant and attractive. This house stood northwest of Miss Ursula Grignon's present residence.

Next we come to the home of Mr. Rouse, which stood where Mr. McLean now has a home. South of this, and north of the

present cemetery, on the top of the hill, where no road was yet cut, was a small house owned by a Mr. Robinson, from whom the hill took its name, and which is still retained.

The foot-path near the river led on to a small house on the flats opposite the cotton farm, which was owned by Mr. Beaupré.

On the top of the next hill, was the residence of Mr. Amable Durochier, which commanded a fine view of Fox River. This house was a handsome one, though made of logs. Now we enter, next in order, the town, then properly named Menomoneeville, but known as Shantytown, and now called Allouez. And here the society was made up entirely of Eastern English-speaking people. Of this society, may be mentioned Mr. Daniel Whitney, then unmarried, and his clerks; Mr. Robert Irwin, Sr., and his wife; Rob't Irwin, Jr., and wife; and the sons and daughters of the former; Judge Doty and his family; and Mr. William Dickenson. There were about thirty houses in the place, and two stores, one being kept by Mr. Whitney, and the other by Mr. Irwin.

Our advantages were few. The only church edifice was the small Roman Catholic chapel, of which mention has already been made. Here no regular priest officiated, one coming occasionally at long intervals. Mr. Williams officiated once in a great while at Fort Howard. A small school was all that was needed, there being but a few children to educate.

Mails arrived once a month, carried on a man's back, and that man was still living a year ago at Portage City. His name is Bellaire.

We were a happy band, united in all social feelings, without jealousy or envy. Not made unhappy by the riches of a neighbor, for riches were possessed by none of us. We were about equal in worldly goods, none very poor, and none rich. Life was fresh and bright. We all had to work hard; but we were young. Female servants could not be had, male servants we had to have, as each household had to provide its own fire-wood.

The resorts of our small community were few. The popular amusement, it seems almost unnecessary to say, was dancing. And in the winter, dancing and sleigh-riding. Our music was not fur-

nished by any particular or celebrated band. Fiddlers were as plenty then as organ-grinders are now, and of about the same grade. Nearly every French house had its fiddler, and seemed to be all half-breeds. No matter, we danced.

The military had a full band, but that was only used at the fort. Now and then the officers gave some very elegant parties.

These were the days of tallow candles. Later, when the town offered sperm candles, we purchased them if we could afford it; but were not ashamed to do without any article we could not afford to pay for.

We citizens had to make our own candles; the fort was supplied by government with a better article. For common use, we made dipped candles, and for company, we made moulded ones.

Horseback riding was the principal mode of getting about. The gentlemen always rode to their places of business, and the ladies made their calls on horseback. Once-in-a-while calls were made in a birch bark canoe; calls at the fort were made frequently in this way. Other calls were made on foot to a friend's house.

But civilization crawled in among us, really to the regret of some, making us in a degree uncomfortable, and giving a feeling of oppression. Many would have gone farther west could they have afforded it.

After a while came steamboats, but who would have thought of railroads reaching old Green Bay? These are "days and dates to be remembered."

Indian Massacre at Prairie du Chien

During the first half of the present century, there existed between different Indian tribes of the North and West a succession of sanguinary wars. The conflicts between the contending parties were marked by the characteristic traits of cruelty and ferocity of a barbarous race. The tribes engaged in these hostilities were the Sioux, Chippewas, Sacs, Foxes, and Winnebagoes. Their battles were not always fought in their own country, nor on their own lands. Whenever and wherever a hostile party met, a contest was sure to be the result; and many incidents connected

with this warfare were observed by the early settlers of Wisconsin, one of which I witnessed, and will relate.

In the month of May, 1830, with my family, I visited Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi; we were guests of the late Joseph Rolette, then a trader, and agent of the American Fur Company. One evening, a few days after our arrival, we were startled by hearing the continual and successive reports of fire-arms, apparently on the Mississippi below. The firing continued for an hour or more, and was succeeded by sounds of Indian drums and savage yells, with an occasional discharge of guns.

The family having retired at the usual time, were aroused from their slumbers about midnight, by hearing footsteps on the piazza, conversation in the Indian language, and finally by knocking on the door and window shutters. Mr. Rolette immediately arose and went out to ascertain the cause of the disturbance, when he was informed that a bloody battle had been fought, and the visitors were the victors, and had called up their trader to inform him of their victory, and to obtain the necessary *spirit water* to celebrate the glorious event in regular savage style. Their wants were supplied, of course, when they took their leave, but not to sleep; neither could we sleep as the warriors kept up through the night a most horrible pow-wow, enlivened by savage yells—all plainly within our hearing.

In the morning, we heard the particulars of the savage fight, and during the day witnessed one of the most disgusting and revolting exhibitions that human beings could display.

On the day before the battle, or rather massacre, a war party of some twenty or twenty-five Sioux encamped on an island opposite Prairie du Chien. They were there joined by a few Menomonees, who volunteered to assist their friends, the Sioux. It appears that the latter had previously received information that on that day a party of Sacs and Foxes, their inveterate enemies, would leave their village, situated on the Mississippi, some distance below Prairie du Chien—intending to visit the latter place; and that they would encamp for the night at a regular camping ground, near the mouth of the Wisconsin River.

In the afternoon of that day, the Sioux war party embarked in

several canoes, and descended the river. Arriving near the spot where they knew their intended victims would encamp, they drew their canoes on land, and carefully hid them in the thick woods, and then selected a spot covered with a dense growth of bushes, and within a short gun-shot of the landing-place on the camping ground. Here, with true Indian cunning, they lay in ambush, awaiting the arrival of the unsuspecting Sacs and Foxes. No fire was made, and the stillness of death reigned in the forest. Nor had they long to wait for the arrival of their foes.

Between sunset and dark the party, in three or four canoes, arrived at the fatal landing-place, and disembarked. It consisted of eighteen persons—one old chief, one squaw, one boy about fourteen years old, and fifteen warriors. Upon landing, the party commenced unloading the canoes. The concealed war party remained perfectly quiet, scarcely breathing, so that their victims might be completely surprised. After all had landed, and while carrying their effects on shore, leaving their guns and war-clubs in the canoes, the party in ambush bounded to their feet, with a horrible yell, and fired a murderous volley at the suprised party, by which all fell except one man and the boy. The former reached a canoe, seized a loaded gun, and discharged it, mortally wounding one of the Sioux; but the poor Sac was soon despatched, and the only one of the eighteen who survived was the boy, who happened to be in a canoe. He seized a paddle, pushed into the stream, and made his escape down the swift current of the river.

After the massacre, all who yet breathed were despatched, and horribly mutilated. Hands, feet, fingers, ears, and scalps were cut off, and more horrible still, the heart of the aged chief was cut from his breast, and all taken by the victors as trophies of the bloody conflict.

On the day succeeding the murder, the victorious party assembled, and accompained by a few squaws, paraded the streets of Prairie du Chien, with the monotonous sounding drum and rattle, and displaying on poles the scalps and dismembered human fragments taken from the bodies of their victims. The whole party was painted with various colors, wore feathers, and carried their tomahawks, war-clubs and scalping-knives. Stopping in front of

the principal houses in the village, they danced the war-dance and scalp-dance, ending with yells characteristic of incarnate devils.

The mangled limbs were still fresh and bleeding; one old squaw had carried on a pole the entire hand, with a long strip of skin from the arm of one of the murdered men, elevated above her head, the blood trickling down upon her hair and face, while she kept up the death-song, and joined in the scalp-dance. After this exhibition, which lasted two or three hours, the warriors went to a small mound, about two hundred yards from Mr. Rolette's residence, and in plain sight made a fire, and roasted the heart of the old murdered chief, and then divided it into small pieces among the several warriors, who devoured it—to inspire them with courage, and "make their hearts glad."

The whole scene was shocking and disgusting in the extreme, and such a one, we hope, never again will be witnessed in a civilized community.

The incidents just related occurred in a town containing a civilized (?) population of six or eight hundred inhabitants, under the walls of the United States garrison, and within musket shot of the fort. Neither civil nor military authorities made any effort to prevent the exhibition of the revolting and savage trophies of the sanguinary battle. In the afternoon, the party of Sioux warriors embarked in their canoes, and ascended the Mississippi, on their return to their own village, leaving on the minds and memories of those who witnessed these horrible and frantic orgies, recollections not soon to be forgotten.

In Memoriam

Cadwallader C. Washburn, LL. D.

State Historical Society, July 25, 1882.—Gen. Simeon Mills, one of the vice-presidents, in the chair, who announced the object of the meeting—to pay a suitable tribute of respect to the memory of the late Hon. C. C. Washburn, LL. D., for nearly six years past the president of the Society.

Gen. David Atwood arose, and presented the following sketch of the life and character of Cadwallader C. Washburn.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the State Historical Society:

New England has produced a large number of men of strong convictions, sterling integrity, of uncompromising patriotism, of inflexible devotion to freedom and the equality of man; and it has been liberal in the peopling of States and Territories outside of its own limits, with a substantial class of citizens who have done valuable service in shaping the character of the new States. They have carried into the new country the habits of industry, frugality and morality, inherited from the Puritan Fathers, with such improvements as have been gained in several generations by experience, and from the superior educational facilities afforded in that section of the country. In the vast numbers of people that New England has sent into other parts of our Union, there have been few, if any, in the great Northwest, who more fully represented, in their every day action the sturdy qualities—mentally, physically, and morally—of these New England Puritans, than did the Hon. Cadwallader C. Washburn, whose many virtues of head and heart we now meet to commemorate, and whose death to mourn! This distin-

guished citizen of Wisconsin died at Eureka Springs, in Arkansas, at 5:30 o'clock, in the afternoon of the 14th of May, 1882. He had been a patient sufferer from the 3d day of February, 1881, on which day he was first attacked with paralysis, resulting from Bright's disease of the kidneys, which had been preying upon him for some time, scarcely realized by himself. From this attack he partially recovered, and during the year visited Europe in the hope of finding relief in the change of climate and from the skill of the most eminent physicians in the world. The relief was only temporary. In a few months he returned to his own country, and after receiving treatment for a short time in Philadelphia, repaired in February last to the healing springs of Arkansas, accompanied by his brother, Hon. E. B. Washburne, of Chicago. For a while, he seemed to improve; but it was not long till renewed attacks of paralysis were experienced, and new complications of his disease set in, baffling the skill of all physicians, causing him to fail during the last two weeks of his life with fearful rapidity, and resulting in his peacefully passing away, surrounded by his immediate family and many anxious friends, as recorded above.

The life of this great and good man was of vast importance to his adopted State and to the country; and his death is properly claimed as a public calamity. The duty of placing on the records of this Society a brief sketch of his life, making reference to some of the more important events in it, has been assigned to me; and while I feel entirely incompetent to do reasonable justice to the subject, will make the effort, and if I fail, it will not result from the want of a due appreciation of the exalted character and great worth of the noble man, whose name and acts will be remembered, and held in the highest respect by the people of the commonwealth through all coming time.

In the ancestry of Mr. Washburn, he goes back on both his father's and mother's sides to the early settlements by the Puritans. John Washburn, from whom he was a direct descendant, was secretary of Plymouth Colony in England, came to this country in 1631, and settled in what was then known as the "Eagle's Nest," in Duxbury, Massachusetts. The great-grandfather of Mr. Washburn was a very prominent man in his day;

an extensive farmer, and the proprietor of a large iron furnace in Raynham, Massachusetts. He was for many years, a representative in the general court. Our late ex-governor is reported as having borne a striking personal resemblance to his great-grandfather. His grandfather, Capt. Israel Washburn, was a resident of the same town of Raynham, served in the Revolutionary War, was a member of the Massachusetts convention that ratified the constitution of the United States, and was repeatedly chosen to represent his people in the general court, the New England name for legislature in the early days, and frequently used at the present time. His father, Israel Washburn, was born in Raynham, November 18, 1784; he moved to Maine in 1806; stopped a brief time in several places, teaching school, and following his trade as a ship builder. In 1809, he purchased a farm and store in Livermore, where he continued in trade till 1829, when he gave up his mercantile pursuits, and spent the subsequent years of his life on his farm known as the "Norlands." He represented his town in the legislature in 1815, 1816, 1818 and 1819, while Maine was a province of Massachusetts. He died September 1, 1876, at the advanced age of ninety-two years.

The mother of Mr. Washburn was a descendant, in the sixth generation, from John Benjamin, who arrived in this country on the ship "Lion" in 1632, and was a proprietor of Cambridge; but at an early day settled at Watertown, where, in the fifth generation from John, above mentioned, Samuel Benjamin, the father of Mrs. Washburn, was born, February 3, 1753; he entered the Revolutionary army in 1775, and participated in the battles at Lexington, at Bunker Hill, at Monmouth, at Yorktown, and at many others of lesser note, in the great struggle for American independence. His whole term of service was seven years, three months and twenty-one days. Lieut. Benjamin became the fourth settler in Livermore in 1783, where he continued to reside till his death, which occurred April 14, 1824. He married Tabitha Livermore, of Waltham, Massachusetts, January 16, 1782, and they raised a family of ten children, of whom Martha, born October 4, 1792, became the wife of Israel Washburn, March 30, 1812, and died May 6, 1861. Of this mother of Gen. Washburn, a friend in Maine writes: "She

was a woman of great force of character, of a sweet disposition and fond of her children, especially of 'Caddy,' between whom and herself there was a remarkable nearness." In memory of this good woman and revered mother, the distinguished son has provided for the founding of an Orphans' Asylum at Minneapolis, the point of his most successful business and financial achievements, and where he accumulated a large portion of his ample fortune.

It thus appears that the ancestry of our subject in this country has been long, and, on both sides, eminently respectable, prominent and imbued with pure principles and correct habits; and his immediate family has occupied an especially prominent position in the history of the country for the past thirty years. Of seven sons, four have occupied seats in Congress from four different States—Israel from Maine, Elihu B. from Illinois, Cadwallader C. from Wisconsin, and William D. from Minnesota. Israel and C. C. have been governors of their respective States, and Elihu B. and Charles A. have represented the nation at foreign courts. All the duties of these positions have been discharged with distinguished ability, and with much usefulness to the United States government. The venerable father lived to witness the remarkable success in life of his talented sons.

Cadwallader C. Washburn, the subject of this sketch, was born at Livermore, Maine, April 22, 1818. Of his boyhood life, we know but little. From a letter received from one who knew him well in Maine, we extract a paragraph in regard to him in his early years: "He was a quiet, broad-shouldered boy, never in trouble, and liked by everybody; observing, studious and persistent. He lived mostly at home until about 1835, working on the farm, and attending the town school. He was apt to learn and a great reader, with a remarkable memory. Sometime about the latter year, he went to Hallowell, at that time one of the most considerable trading towns in Maine, and a place of unusual culture, being the seat of the Vaughans, a distinguished English family. Dr. Benjamin Vaughan, a member of the British House of Commons, and a friend of Charles Fox, came to this country late in the last century. Here young Washburn remained, sometimes a clerk in a store, sometimes in the postoffice, where he enjoyed opportunities for study and observation, until

late in December, 1838, when he took the principal school in the ancient town of Wiscasset, to teach for the winter of 1839. That service performed, he set out, in the spring or early summer of that year, for the West. He never lived in Boston, as some papers have stated. In his case it was true, if ever, that the 'child is father of the man.' ''

Mr. Washburn had not only received a good common school education in his native town of Livermore, but afterwards attended a private school that had been established in the town for teaching the higher branches of education. He also devoted some time to the study of the classics under the instruction of his uncle, the Hon. Ruel Washburn. This uncle was the principal lawyer in the town, a graduate of Brown University, and a good classical scholar. The sturdy character of Judge Washburn, the kindness he extended to him, and the encouragement and advice he gave him, was never forgotten by the nephew, as is shown by the following provision of his will:

To the three daughters of Alonzo Washburn, son of my uncle, Ruel Washburn, I give one thousand dollars each, $3,000, in token of my respect for the memory of my excellent uncle, their grandfather, who was one of the most honest and conscientious men I ever knew, and whose advice to me when I left home I have never forgotten.

Thus grounded in the substantial business and moral qualities of a New England education, with excellent health and a robust constitution, Mr. Washburn, in accordance with a long cherished intention, left the home of his childhood in the spring of 1839, to seek a new home, fortune and fame in the then Great West. He made his first stopping place at Davenport, then a small village in the then newly organized Territory of Iowa. For three months he kept a private school, and then took a position on the geological survey of Iowa, under charge of David Dale Owen, that had been ordered by Congress. This survey was completed in November, 1839, and Mr. Washburn always spoke of this expedition as forming one of the happiest and most interesting epochs of his life. He then took up his residence at Stevenson, near Rock Island, and entered upon the study of the law in the office of an old friend from Maine, Hon. Joseph B. Wells, a man of fine ability, and who possessed many substantial and genial qualities. Mr. Wells was after-

wards elected lieutenant-governor of the State of Illinois. In 1840, Mr. Washburn was elected surveyor of the county of Rock Island. In the spring of 1842 he deemed it necessary to bring his law studies to a close in Stevenson (then become Rock Island), and to find a location to enter the practice of his profession. In looking over the field he was attracted to Mineral Point, then the principal town in southwestern Wisconsin. His brother, E. B. Washburne, had established himself two years before in a lucrative practice at Galena, Illinois, some forty miles distant, and that fact, no doubt, had considerable influence in deciding Mr. Washburn to locate at Mineral Point. He took up his residence in this thriving mining town in March, 1842, and the records show that, on motion of Hon. Moses M. Strong, he was admitted to practice at the bar, at a session of the United States district court at Lancaster, Grant County, Judge Dunn presiding, on the 29th day of March of that year. He at once opened a law-office at Mineral Point, and soon secured the confidence of the people by the promptitude and scrupulous fidelity with which he attended to business, and entered upon a successful practice, largely in the line of a collection business. He commenced his career as a lawyer with the same thorough, honest and prompt habits that characterized the later years of his life, and all matters intrusted to him received his careful personal attention till the work was completed; and when money was collected it was promptly paid over to its rightful owner. In a recent conversation with a personal friend who knew Mr. Washburn intimately in his early practice, he remarked to us, that "no person who put collections in his hands ever had to collect the money twice," indicating that such was not always the case, and that it was sometimes more difficult to collect money from the attorney after he had received it than from the original debtor. Such was not the case with Mr. Washburn. In August, 1844, he entered into partnership with Cyrus Woodman, a member of the Boston bar, who had for some years been the agent of the New England Land Company in Illinois. He was a young man of bright promise, who brought into the business of the firm, not only ability, experience and substantial character, but considerable capital; and the firm very soon connected with the law-office, a land agency, and

entered upon an extensive and lucrative business. It was here that the foundation was laid that resulted in the accumulation of the immense fortune that Mr. Washburn possessed at the time of his death. The law practice was gradually abandoned, and the firm engaged largely in the entry of public lands for settlers, and the location of Mexican War land-warrants. In this manner the firm became possessed of large quantities of pine, mineral and agricultural lands in its own right, and it secured many valuable farms for friends. The firm of Washburn & Woodman became widely known throughout the country, and by a system of fair and honest dealing, prompt and energetic action, established the reputation of being a strong, successful, and wealthy one for that early day in the West.

After the State banking law of 1852 went into operation, this firm established the Mineral Point Bank, which stood the test of all financial reverses, and never suspended specie payments. Soon after Mr. Washburn was elected to Congress, the affairs of this bank were wound up, and every dollar of its liabilities was paid in specie. The partnership of Washburn & Woodman was dissolved March 1, 1855, Mr. Woodman retiring from it, and Mr. Washburn assumed the responsibility of the entire business of the late firm. The article of dissolution was drawn up by Mr. Washburn, and contained this statement: "Whereas, we have, for upwards of ten years, been doing business as partners under the name of Washburn & Woodman, during which time, our intercourse, interrupted by no untoward circumstances, has been marked by a constant feeling of kindness and good will, coupled with an unusual degree of unanimity of sentiment in relation to our business transactions."

Mr. Washburn managed the immense business left to him, with consummate skill and ability, acquiring the reputation of being one of the most substantial, successful and reliable business men in the great Northwest.

In 1850, Israel Washburn, a brother of C. C., was elected to Congress from Maine; and in 1852, Elihu B., another brother, was chosen to the same body from the Galena district, in Illinois. The old second district in Wisconsin, in which Mr. C. C. Washburn resided at that time, included within its boundaries, about two-thirds of the territory of the State, taking in Rock

and Dane counties on the east, and extending north to Lake Superior.

Mr. Washburn had been raised as a Whig, and always took great interest in political matters. On the repeal of the Missouri Compromise by Congress in 1854, he partook of the intense hostility to that measure which characterized the old Whigs and Free-soilers of Wisconsin. He was then in private life, in charge of extensive business operations, with no thought of entering into politics. The friends of Mr. Washburn, knowing his excellent business qualities and great firmness and integrity of character, made a movement, having in view his election to Congress. The idea originated in Rock County, and several of the prominent citizens of Janesville wrote a letter asking him to become a candidate for that office. Mr. W. replied to that letter on the 9th of August, 1854, expressing surprise that his name was mentioned for Congress. He could not then promise to accept a nomination on account of business engagements, but if the tender came with unanimity on the part of the convention, he would consider the propriety of accepting it. He soundly indorsed the principles of the Republican party that had just been organized in Wisconsin. The suggestion of the name of Washburn for Congress received great favor throughout the district, and at the convention, he received the nomination, without effort or even desire on his part, and was elected a member of the 34th Congress; and, on the 4th of March, 1855, the three brothers met in Washington, representing three different States in the house of representatives, each having been elected at the age of thirty-six years.[1] These three brothers occupied

[1] Mr. Eastman, the predecessor of Mr. Washburn in Congress, had voted against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, but did not identify himself with the anti-Nebraska party in the State. A friend well acquainted with the history of the time, gives the following information, that may prove of historical interest: "It is a singular fact, but a part of the unwritten political history of Wisconsin, that the Democratic congressional convention for the district was held at Mineral Point in August, 1854, to nominate a candidate for Congress to succeed Mr. Eastman. This gentleman's course on the Nebraska question had offended many leaders of the party, who were determined to beat him for re-nomination. The first thing to be done was to make a platform upon which he refused to accept a nomination. The convention then sent a committee to wait on Cyrus Woodman, the former partner of Mr. Washburn, and to offer him the nomination. Mr. Wood-

seats in Congress together for the succeeding six years, and proved themselves a strong force in shaping the legislation of the country. Mr. Washburn, being thoroughly acquainted with the wants of the new State he was chosen to represent, was instrumental in securing much legislation that has proved of great value to its people. With his brothers in Congress, he brought to bear a strong force upon any measure he desired, virtually giving his people the advantage of three representatives. In the 36th Congress, Mr. Washburn served as chairman of the committee on private land claims, and as a member of the special committee of thirty-three on the State of the Union. In February, 1861, this latter committee made a report recommending a constitutional amendment making slavery perpetual. Mr. Washburn and Mr. Tappan, of New Hampshire, joined in a minority report, which set forth in strong and truthful terms the origin of the secession movement, and opposed any modification of the constitution in the interests of slavery.

In January, 1861, Mr. Washburn introduced the following resolution:

Resolved, That the provisions of the constitution are ample for the preservation of the Union, and the protection of all the material interests of the country; that it needs to be obeyed rather than amended; and our extrication from present difficulties is to be looked for in efforts to preserve and protect the public property and enforce the laws, rather than in new guarantees for particular interests, or compromises or concessions to unreasonable demands.

In support of this resolution he made a few remarks, closing with the following significant and prophetic words:

Sir, I have no special dread in regard to the future of this republic. Civil war may come—disunion and dissolution may come, but, I pray God to deliver us from both; but, sir, whatever may come, I have an abiding faith in a kind Providence that has ever watched over us, that passing

---

man informed the committee that he occupied the same ground that Mr. Eastman did on the Nebraska question, and that he would not accept a nomination on the platform adopted. The convention, the great object of which was apparently to defeat Mr. Eastman, finally agreed that if Mr. Woodman would accept, he might take his own platform. This he declined to do, and finally Dr. Otis Hoyt of Hudson, was nominated." The competitors of Gov. Washburn at the two subsequent elections to Congress were the late Judge Samuel Crawford, and the late Judge Charles Dunn, both men of eminent ability and popular with their party.

events will be all over-ruled for good, and for the welfare of mankind in this and other lands. Gentlemen may talk of reconstructing this government after it shall have been broken up and destroyed—it will not be reconstructed on the basis on which it now stands. Gentlemen may as well understand right here that if the Government is to be reconstructed, the people of the North will have a word to say as to the basis of that reconstruction; and no new union will be formed that does not give them terms of perfect equality.

If this union must be dissolved, whether by peaceable secession, or through fire and blood and civil war, we shall have the consolation of knowing that *when the conflict is over, those who survive it will be, what they never have been, inhabitants of a free country.*

Mr. Washburn was ever true to the cause of liberty, and the slave found in him an able advocate and staunch friend.

After serving six years in Congress, Mr. Washburn declined another election, and soon after the expiration of his term, March 4, 1861, he changed his residence from Mineral Point to La Crosse. The late Civil War soon followed, in which he took prominent part, and immediately after his return to civil pursuits he was elected to the 40th Congress, taking his seat in the house of representatives on the 4th of March, 1867; and was re-elected in 1868. In the 40th Congress, he served on the committees of foreign affairs, and on expenditures of public buildings; and in the next Congress he served on the committees on appropriations, on private land claims, on the committee on the causes of the reduction of American tonnage, and was chairman of the special committee on the postal telegraph. The fact of his being appointed to serve on so many important committees is evidence that he was held in high esteem in Congress. He was ever watchful of all interests intrusted to his care, and devoted himself with much energy to the labors of the several committees on which he served, and was active on the floor of the house. He was strongly in favor of uniting the postal and telegraphic service of the country, and that the lines of the latter be operated as a part of the postal system. From an exhaustive report he presented on this subject, we make a brief extract:

Let the government buy out the lines, transfer the management to the postoffice department, and reduce at once the cost of telegraphing to a uniform rate, for any distance, to twenty cents for twenty words, and you will bring blessings and benefits to millions of our people who have hitherto

been deprived of the use of the telegraph. The mind can scarcely comprehend the vast advantages to the whole country that will ensue if this system is adopted. The experience of cheap telegraphy in Europe has demonstrated that sixty per cent. of dispatches sent are upon social or family matters, while here it is rarely used except upon urgent business. A money order system, such as is adopted in Europe, would be of incalculable benefit to the whole country, and would stimulate and promote all kinds of business to an extent that few now can comprehend. If you desire to pay any sum of money on a given day at New Orleans, San Francisco, or any other point, whether near or remote, you will have but to step to a postal telegraph money-order office, deposit the amount you desire to pay with twenty cents for a dispatch, and in an hour your correspondent on the Pacific Coast has your money. From careful estimates, I am convinced that the postoffice department could add to itself the telegraph business of the country, and that it could do that business, with good wires, at an expense of $3,500,000 per annum—one-half, or less than one-half, what telegraphing now costs the country; that it could and would do five times the amount of telegraphing done to-day, at from one-fifth to one-tenth the rates charged at present, and be not only self sustaining, but a small source of revenue to the Government.

This favorite scheme of Mr. Washburn has not been put in operation, and the correctness of his views have not therefore been tested. His labors, however, in its behalf may not be lost, as at some future time the subject may again receive serious attention, and his investigations may prove of value.

In Congress, Mr. Washburn was a hard worker, and brought to bear on all important measures, the entire force of his strong mind and extensive business experience. He was not a frequent speaker; his most valuable service was on committees, where he never failed to exert a powerful influence, and always in the right direction. When he did speak, he received marked attention, and presented his views in clear and forcible language; never failing to make himself fully understood, and never attempting to conceal a wrong. He hated all kinds of jobbery, and dishonesty in every form, and never failed to raise his voice in earnest protest against any effort to defraud the government. He carried into Congress the energy and integrity of character, in the consideration of public business, that ever characterized his conduct in his private transactions. His motto was to do right, and most nobly did he live up to its requirements.

At the breaking out of the War of the Rebellion, Mr. Wash-

burn raised a cavalry regiment, and was commissioned as its colonel. In June, 1862, he was commissioned as a brigadier-general, and was assigned to the post at Helena, which he held till November, when, having been commissioned as a major-general, the entire cavalry force in Arkansas was placed under his command. About that time Gen. Grant made a movement south for the capture of Vicksburg and Gen. Washburn, with 2,000 cavalrymen, dislodged a force prepared to obstruct the progress of the army, at the crossing of the Tallahatchie. In February, 1863, he conducted an expedition which opened the Yazoo Pass, soon after which he took command of the cavalry at Memphis, where he remained until May, when he proceeded to take part in the siege of Vicksburg. He was ordered with two divisions to hold Haines' Bluff, and to watch Gen. Joe Johnston, who was in the rear near by with a large force, hoping to be able to raise the siege. In August following, Gen. Washburn, in command of the 13th corps, joined Gen. Banks, for the purpose of taking part in the Texas campaign. At the battle of Grand Coteau, La., he, with his command, saved the 4th division, under General Burbridge from annihilation by an overwhelming force of rebels. On the 29th of November, Gen. Washburn landed on the coast of Texas with 2,800 men, and compelled the evacuation of Fort Esperanza, a bomb proof work, cased with railroad iron, surrounded by a deep moat filled with water, manned by 1,000 men and mounting ten guns. This movement was of much importance, as it gave the Union forces control of the entire coast of Texas, from Matagorda Bay to the Rio Grande. In January, 1864, becoming satisfied that there would be no further trouble in Texas, Gen. Washburn availed himself of a leave of absence for sixty days. At the expiration of this leave, he was ordered by Gen. Grant to Annapolis, to assist in the re-organizing of the 9th corps, to which he was assigned. He was afterwards ordered to again assume command at Memphis, where he organized and sent out several expeditions to hold in check a large cavalry force, which would otherwise have operated on the communications of Gen. Sherman. In December, he was ordered to take command of the district of Vicksburg, but soon after was recalled to the

department of Memphis, which command he held till the close of the war. The author of *Wisconsin in the War* asserts that "competent testimony from Memphis says that he was the best commander in that position during the war." His military record, like that in all public positions he has held, was excellent, evincing determined courage and will-power, directed by strong common sense.

The following official statement of the military services of Gen. Washburn has been received from the army records at Washington, attested by Gen. George D. Ruggles, of the adjutant-general's bureau:

Statement of the military service of Cadwallader Colden Washburn, of the United States army, compiled from the records of this office:

He was commissioned colonel, 2d Wisconsin Cavalry, Oct. 10, 1861, reported for duty Oct. 10, 1861, and was mustered into the U. S. service Feb. 6, 1862. He left the State with his regiment March 24, 1862, and served in the army under Gen. Curtis, in Arkansas, to July, 1862. Was appointed brigadier-general, U. S. Vols., July 16, 1862, and major-general Nov. 29, 1862.

He commanded a cavalry brigade in Arkansas, and also the post of Helena, Ark., July to Oct., 1862; commanded cavalry forces in Arkansas to Nov., 1862; division in the Army of the Tennessee to Feb., 1863; cavalry division, 13th corps, to April 9, 1863; cavalry in West Tennessee to June 8, 1863; two divisions of the 16th corps at Haines' Bluff, Miss., to July 28, 1863; 1st division, 13th Corps, to Aug. 1, 1863; 13th corps to Sept. 15, 1863; 1st division, 13th corps, to Oct. 20, 1863; 13th corps to Oct. 26, 1863; 1st division, 13th corps, to Dec., 1863; and troops at Matagorda Peninsula, Texas, to Jan. 13, 1864; on leave of absence to March 29, 1864; under orders to April 23, 1864; commanding district of West Tennessee to Nov., 1864; district of Vicksburg to March 4, 1865; and the district of West Tennessee until he resigned, May 25, 1865.

In the spring of 1871, as his last term in Congress had expired, a large number of friends urged Mr. Washburn to become a candidate for governor, and, notwithstanding his desire to give his entire attention to his vast private enterprises, he yielded to the wishes of the people and accepted the proffered nomination, and became the candidate for the chief executive office of the State. His opponent in the contest was Hon. James R. Doolittle, one of the most effective orators in the West, and a man of fine ability and extensive acquirements. Arrangements were made for a thorough canvass of the State, and the two candi-

dates spoke from the same platform in the principal cities, to immense audiences of interested people of all parties. While Mr. Doolittle may have possessed more of the graces of the finished orator than did Mr. Washburn, the latter was able to present the largest array of facts in support of the positions he assumed, in a straight-forward manner, and in strong and plain language for which he was proverbial. The debates were conducted with signal ability and decorum on both sides, and the result of the canvass was the triumphant election of Mr. Washburn. He was inaugurated as governor of Wisconsin on the first Monday in January, 1872, and his administration of the affairs of State was one of marked success. His great executive ability, his wonderful energy of character, his strong practical sense, and his long and successful business experience, gave him immense power to do good work, and the State was materially benefited in many respects, through his superior management of the executive department. In the autumn of 1873, Mr. Washburn was renominated by his party for the same office; but owing to a combination of circumstances over which he had no control—the various factions of monopoly and anti-monopoly, of temperance and anti-temperance, and several other distracting elements were arrayed against him—his opponent, William R. Taylor, was elected, to the surprise of the people generally. In this defeat of Governor Washburn the people were the greatest losers. To him it was a relief, and gave him an opportunity to look after his private affairs that very much needed his personal attention. Nor did his defeat detract, in the least degree, from the high reputation he had attained as an official. He will long be remembered by the people of the State as a model governor.

With the close of his term as governor, the official life of General Washburn ended; and, while his public career may not have been especially brilliant, as viewed by the world, it was able, practical and substantially useful to the country. In no position was his perfect integrity of character ever questioned. His fidelity to duty, and his energetic labor and honesty of purpose in all things, and at all times, were admitted, even by his political opponents. In his official career, General Wash-

burn, from the beginning to the close of his public life, realized fully the ideal character for whom the poet so earnestly prayed, when he wrote:

"God give us men; a time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who have honor; men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demagogue
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking."

General Washburn was undoubtedly an ambitious man; but his was a laudable ambition, springing from an intense desire to do the greatest amount of good that lay in his power, for his country and for mankind. He doubtless had a very strong desire to become a member of the United States senate; and, in this ambition, he was backed, on several occasions, by a strong array of friends. In the contest for this exalted position in 1861, at the start, he was the strongest candidate before the legislature. The late Governor Randall and the present postmaster general, Hon. Timothy O. Howe, were the opposing candidates,—Mr. Washburn being the highest of the three. After several ballots had been taken in caucus, the opposing forces united upon Mr. Howe, and that gentleman was chosen senator. Again, in 1869, he was the leading candidate for the same high office at the beginning of the contest before the legislature; but was defeated in obtaining the nomination, by the uniting of most of the friends of the several other candidates upon the late Hon. Matt. H. Carpenter, who became senator. In 1875, he was again brought forward as a candidate, and after a long and hard struggle, Mr. Carpenter received the nomination for re-election. The friends of Mr. Washburn were not satisfied with the result of the action in caucus, and withheld their votes from Mr. Carpenter in the legislature, and after several days' voting, a union with the democrats was effected, resulting in the election of Hon. Angus Cameron as senator. At several other contests for United States senator, the name of General Washburn was prominently mentioned in connection with the office, and he received a number of votes

in caucus; but it seemed decreed that this ambition should not be gratified; that he should not become a member of the United States senate, a position he apparently desired above all others of an official character. These defeats resulted largely from the fact that General Washburn did not possess, in any special degree, magnetic power over men; he commanded their high respect, but was of that positive character that repelled rather than drew friends closely to him; in fine, he was no time-serving politician, and knew nothing of the arts of the demagogue. This is no reflection upon the uprightness of his character; his nature was rather unbending, and he could not draw around him those warm friendships that are essentially necessary to political success. He was forcible rather than plausible; positive rather than politic; hence the public positions he held were obtained because of his real ability and worth, rather than from special personal attachments of friends. This characteristic should be put down as a real merit in his make-up, rather than as a defect.

After the term of Mr. Washburn as governor had expired, he directed his entire attention to the management of his extensive and rapidly increasing business operations, and it was in this department that he met with his greatest successes in life. In the manufacture of lumber and flour he accumulated a large portion of his ample fortune, presumed to reach several millions of dollars. His early investments in pine lands proved of immense value to him, demonstrating his far-seeing sagacity in the purchase of them, and in the holding on to them through all the financial reverses, when men of less nerve and courage, and possessing less faith in the progress and growth of the country than he, would have abandoned these lands as worthless property to hold, many years before they became of value. He made, also, early investments in the water power at St. Anthony's Falls, becoming the principal owner of the west side power. He became interested in the manufacture of flour, and in 1876 erected an immense mill, which was destroyed by fire in 1878. This terrible loss did not dishearten this lion-hearted man in the least, but rather had the effect to stimulate him to greater efforts. He proceeded at once to the work of rebuilding his mills at Minneapolis on a still larger scale, with improved

machinery. He was the first man in the United States who introduced what is known as the "patent process" for the manufacture of flour, and the Hungarian roller system, that has proved so valuable. He visited the old country for the purpose of investigating all the improved processes for making flour, determined to secure the very best for his own mill. His efforts, though attended with much hard labor and large expense, were crowned with complete success, and his mill at Minneapolis is recognized as the most extensive and best in the world, capable of turning out 2,000,000 barrels per annum of the finest quality of patent flour. His flouring mills were his greatest pride, and to them, for the last few years of his life, he gave a large share of his personal attention, becoming thoroughly informed in all the details of the vast machinery. It was generally admitted that no man in this country was so thoroughly versed in milling, or possessed so complete a knowledge of every detail in the manufacture of flour, as was the late General Washburn.

He was one of the early projectors and builders of the Minneapolis and St. Louis Railroad, and was largely interested in many other business enterprises that required skill and energy to manage. His life was one of activity and hard work, and evinced tremendous will power and physical endurance.

His immense business success was not the result of accident or luck; but resulted from a keen foresight and from great thoroughness in the discharge of every duty in life. He never shirked any responsibility, but gave his personal attention to the work in hand. Integrity of character was his strong hold. His word was as good as his bond. An illustration of this is found in his conduct relating to the location of the astronomical observatory on the University grounds at Madison. He had made an appointment with a member of the board of regents to meet him at nine o'clock the next morning to stake out the ground upon which to locate this observatory. During the intervening night his great mill at Minneapolis was totally destroyed by fire. In the morning the regent presumed the governor had left for the scene of destruction on the night train and did not expect to meet him; but prompt at the moment, the noble governor appeared on the ground, as cool as though nothing had happened, ready to proceed with the work.

The regent expressed surprise at meeting him on account of the great calamity that had befallen his property during the previous night. The governor calmly replied that the loss was a large one in property, but that was of small consequence; his sadness was on account of the loss of life and the general distress to the poor laboring people that it involved; he had given his word that he would aid in locating the observatory this morning, and but for that, perhaps it never would have been located at all. His word must be carried out to the letter. He would proceed at once with the work in charge, and then would proceed to Minneapolis to exert himself in aiding to relieve the distress caused by the destructive fire. His own loss was the last thing that disturbed his mind. This incident indicates the general characteristics of this great and good man. When he gave his word, he never failed to make it good.

There could be no failure in the success of such a character in whatever he might undertake; and it is not remarkable that for the last few years of his life, his business success has been almost fabulous. The death of such a man is a great loss to the business world.

Having thus briefly referred to the successes of General Washburn, in both his official and his business life, it may be well to sum up some of the characteristics of the man, that have been instrumental in producing such magnificent results. A distinguished senator in speaking of a similar character, uses language so appropriate to our subject, that we adopt it as better than we could produce: "Born and educated in New England, passing the maturity of his years in the West, he united, in an uncommon degree, the qualities and characteristics of each; the shrewdness, the steadiness, the keen observation, the inflexible purpose of the one; the freshness, the eager earnestness, the sturdy robustness of the other; the fidelity, the truthfulness, the manliness of both. His sincerity was beyond question, his honest belief in the principles which he professed was never disputed; he meant what he said, and he said all that he meant. He had no halting opinions; he had a judgment, and a decided judgment, on every question that was ever presented to him. He was a forcible, but not a frequent speaker. The strength of his convictions found expression in the bold-

ness of his utterance. Disdaining the lighter graces of rhetoric, his speeches did not sparkle with wit nor glow with sentiment, but they bristled with facts; if he did not captivate by his style, he compelled assent by his reasoning; and when he had arranged his facts and constructed his argument, his conclusion followed with almost irresistible force. Devoting himself to commerce and to politics, he attained eminent success in each, and secured the highest rewards of both."

For several years past, General Washburn has served as president of the State Historical Society, in which he has ever taken a lively interest, and to which he has made many liberal and valuable contributions. His deep interest in the affairs of the Society cannot better be illustrated, than by a brief quotation from his own language. During the last year, the secretary endeavored to arouse an interest to aid in securing a new building in which to better accommodate the large and rapidly increasing demands of the Society for room. General Washburn was then in Europe, but his views on this subject were asked, and in response to a letter from Mr. Draper, he wrote:

I read your letter with a great deal of interest and sincere approval. Though I am told by my physicians that I must stop writing, or even thinking, yet I will bid them defiance so far as to say to you, that I approve of every word you say. The State is justly proud of the Historical Society, and to you, especially, and to your associate, Mr. Durrie, is due the honor of its being what it is. It has grown to such proportions, that there is little opportunity for its enlargement without the State's co-operation. The room now occupied is wanted for other purposes. Wisconsin is a great and prosperous State—rapidly increasing in wealth and importance. The State is able to do whatever ought to be done to promote the public welfare. I do not see how the legislature can withhold a proper appropriation for a building for the Society. No one can forecast the future, or tell to what proportions your collection may grow. It certainly will exceed the most sanguine anticipations of any; and I trust you will lay out for the far-off future.

Mr. Washburn was a philanthropist, as has been shown in many acts, and as such, the people will ever remember him with great respect. In the erection and gift to the State University, of the astronomical observatory, fully equipped with the best apparatus known to the world, he has reared a monument more enduring than stone or brass, and one that will cause his name to be mentioned with the highest respect and veneration for the

man who bore it, so long as education is respected in Wisconsin. This observatory does honor to the head and heart of the noble man, whose death the people of the State sincerely mourn. The blessings of the commonwealth will ever be extended to the name of Washburn for this generous and useful donation.

For the benefit of education, he has also presented his beautiful home, near Madison, known as "Edgewood," another generous act, honorable to him as a man and as a philanthropist.

In his will, he has also provided for the establishment and endowment of a public library at his last home, the city of La Crosse, that will bestow untold blessings to the people of that beautiful city throughout all succeeding generations. In like manner, he has provided for the erection of an orphans' asylum in the city of Minneapolis, in honor of his revered mother. Such acts of public liberality endear him to the hearts of the people.

In view of the many and important services Mr. Washburn has rendered for the benefit of education and otherwise, the legislature by law created him a life regent of the State University, an honor never conferred upon any other citizen, but most worthily bestowed in this instance.

In 1873, Governor Washburn was honored with the degree of doctor of laws, by the University.

Though Governor Washburn was but sixty-four years of age when he died, still, reckoned from the vast extent and value of his works, his life had been a long and an eventful one, and the rich fruits of that life will never die. His name will live in history, as one of the noble men of the republic. As congressman, as an officer in the late war, as governor of his adopted State, as president of the State Historical Society, as a life regent of the State University, as a philanthropist, as a business man, and as a citizen, he has left the enduring impress of a master mind. Nobility of character was delineated in every position he occupied in life.

Notwithstanding a large share of the time of Mr. Washburn must have been devoted to the care of his vast business, still, possessing the taste, he found considerable time to devote to the reading and study of books; and, having a remarkable memory, had accumulated a large amount of practical and valuable in-

formation that rendered him an exceedingly interesting man in social conversation. He was quite familiar with American and English literature and history. He was also a lover of poetry, and derived much pleasure in reading the products of the best authors. He was very ready and apt in his poetical quotations in public speaking and in conversation.

In personal appearance Gen. Washburn was singularly imposing; and everything that pertained to him—his physical stature, his mind, his manner, his address—gave the impression of massiveness. No one could converse with him for any length of time without feeling assured that he was in the presence of a powerful mind, well stored with interesting and practical knowledge.

In his religious views, Mr. Washburn was liberal minded and full of charity. On this point, we extract from the excellent discourse of Rev. Mr. Tuttle, who officiated at his funeral, as best indicating his religious sentiments. Mr. Tuttle said:

In respect to Mr. Washburn's religious views I can, perhaps, without touching upon any indelicacy, say this: He accepted earnestly the fundamental truth of Christianity, he had a profound respect for the Christian rites and services, and while he entertained distinct and positive opinions on religious doctrines, he was modest in the assertion of those opinions, was exceedingly free from offensive dogmatism, and charitable toward all sects and denominations. He was more anxious, evidently, as all men should be, to exhibit a sound life than sound doctrines. We have seen what his life was—let us infer from this what his reverence for God and for the Savior was. Loving man, whom he did see, what better evidence could he have given that he loved God, whom he did not see? He was an optimist in religion as he was in most other things. His nature was keyed to a hopeful, cheerful strain. There was not a drop of despair in his mind. Helping with all his might to save mankind in this world, he hoped and believed that God through his infinite power and mercy will finally save it in the next.

In his domestic relations Mr. Washburn has been unfortunate. In early manhood he was united in marriage with Miss Jeanette Garr, daughter of the late Andrew S. Garr, Esq., an able, accomplished and successful lawyer in New York city. She was an intelligent and estimable lady, possessing the acquirements to make a happy home; but, after a few years of domestic happiness and real enjoyment, she became a confirmed invalid for life, from the loss of mind, and the family has ever since, for a period of more than thirty years, been deprived of her

presence and cheering influence. In all this time of sadness, she has been tenderly cared for, in the best possible manner, by her devoted husband. Nothing that money could provide to alleviate her terrible malady has been left undone. His wealth has been liberally bestowed in seeking her comfort; and in his will, the most ample provision is made for her future support. He leaves two daughters, both married. The eldest is the wife of A. W. Kelsey, Esq., of St. Louis, and the youngest is the wife of Col. Charles Payson of Washington city, late United States minister to Denmark.

The career of Gen. Washburn presents a rare illustration of the excellence of our institutions; and affords hope to every struggling, brave-hearted youth, who is conscious of a noble purpose and possesses inherent strength. It shows what a determined spirit, guided by upright and honest principles, can accomplish by his own efforts. His life is well worthy of imitation.

How firm a hold Mr. Washburn had upon the people of his adopted State was exemplified after his death, which occurred in a distant region. On the news reaching the capital of Wisconsin, the governor immediately issued a proclamation, announcing, in fitting terms, the sad event, and appointing a committee to receive the remains at the State line, and to accompany them to his late home at La Crosse, and to attend his funeral. One of the great railway companies in the State, through the Hon. Alexander Mitchell, its president, a life-long personal friend of Gov. Washburn, tendered a special train for the transportation of the remains and the committee from Chicago, and free transportation was tendered to friends from all points in the State and from Minneapolis, in Minnesota, to the place where the body was to be committed to the dust. As the train bearing the honored remains passed through the State, there were demonstrations of respect for the man living, and grief on account of his death, at every station on the line. People turned out in large numbers, military companies were drawn up in line, and stood with arms presented as the train passed on, and sadness was depicted on every countenance at the great loss the people had sustained in the death of this noble-hearted and upright citizen. At the funeral nearly every town in the State was

represented; the farmer left the plow; the mechanic the shop; the merchant the counting room. At the capital of the State, all public business was suspended on the day of the funeral, by order of the governor; in his own city of La Crosse, and in Minneapolis, the center of his chief business operations, the wheels of the manufacturing establishments ceased to move, the hand of industry rested from labor, that a proper tribute of respect should be paid to the memory of departed worth. Floral tokens of admiration and affection were various and plentiful at his funeral rites—many of unique design and possessing rare beauty. The procession that followed the sacred dust to its final resting place in the beautiful cemetery, within the limits of the delightful city that had been chosen by himself as his last home on earth, presented a remarkable scene of love and devotion. The streets were literally thronged with men and women with moistened eyes, anxious to pay their last mournful tribute of love and respect to the distinguished dead.

The memory of Washburn will long be held dear to the hearts of the good people of Wisconsin!

Farewell, illustrious statesman; uncompromising patriot; liberal hearted philanthropist; indefatigable worker; successful business man; loyal citizen; staunch friend of freedom; stalwart politician; fearless adviser; genial companion; and honest man! The State mourns a man without reproach; without stain; a soul above suspicion.

"The air is thick with death. His flying shafts
Strike down to-day, the bravest in the land;
And here and there, how suddenly he wafts
His fatal arrows! Nor can long withstand
The mailed warrior, or statesman manned
Against him. But why should he hasten on
* * * * to strike one down
Just in the zenith of his strength and glory of renown?
"Washburn! above thy grave, we bow in tears!
The generous friend, the unrelenting foe,
In halls of state who stood for many years,
Like fabled knight, thy visage all aglow!
Receiving, giving sternly, blow for blow!
* * * * * *
"Champion of right! But from Eternity's far shore
Thy spirit will return to join the strife no more.
Rest! Statesman, rest! Thy troubled life is o'er."

Hon. Harlow S. Orton, LL.D., of the supreme court, offered the following remarks:

It has been assigned to me to speak of Gov. Washburn's private, public and business character, and I shall do so with brevity, and I trust with truthfulness.

Our acquaintance began about thirty-five years ago, and had been somewhat intimate most of the time until he died. In early Territorial times, the firm of Washburn & Woodman of Mineral Point, engaged in the business of banking, law and dealing in real estate, was, and continued to be, for many years, one of our most prominent and creditable business concerns, and achieved great success, and for that time, wealth. Both Washburn and Woodman were amongst the earliest friends and supporters of this Society, and have done much for its success, by their encouragement, counsel, and contributions. In 1852, by the urgent request of Gov. Farwell and myself, Gov. Washburn came to Madison and assisted in framing a general banking law for this State, and his suggestions tended greatly to perfect it, with the view of securing both bill holders and depositors against any possible loss; and that law failed only in these respects, by the vicious construction and loose, if not dishonest practices, of those having charge of its execution.

His great abilities, and excellent character, early in the history of the State, commended him to the people of his district as a candidate for Congress, and his prominence and usefulness in that body, made his election sure for many years. After his return from distinguished service in the war, he became a resident of another district, which he also represented for many terms. At one time, at least, he might have been elected a member of the United States senate, had he pledged himself in advance of his election to a special course of official conduct, which in itself was not particularly objectionable, but which he did not approve. In the Congress of the United States, at a time when Credit Mobilier frauds and congressional stock jobbing had seduced and corrupted its members to such an extent that even so-called Christian statesmen received bribes, and well nigh committed perjury to conceal them, he stood almost alone in their exposure and denunciation. For one term, and for one term only, he was allowed to fill the execu-

tive office, and for the next he was most unaccountably defeated. It is no disparagement to our other governors to say, that he made the ablest and best governor Wisconsin ever had, and filled the full measure of that high office which ought never to be sought by any one incapable of performing all of its duties, and he was not outranked by any governor in the Union.

As a business man Gov. Washburn had great energy, endurance and perseverance, far-seeing sagacity and sound judgment, and his great success in business was not the result of accident or chance, but of the exercise of these qualities. He had well laid plans, and a perfect system in all the multiplicity of his business enterprises, which facilitated their accomplishment, and enabled him to achieve so much without the aid or agency of others. His great wealth was the product of his own private business, and was not obtained or enhanced by the questionable contributions of government patronage, land grants, corporate monopolies, or stock speculations. The same great qualities he exercised in his own business, he carried with him into his official life, and which made him such an efficient worker in the public service.

In office, he was distinguished for his patriotism, integrity, fidelity and severe economy; and he managed all public concerns as he did his own, except that he expended the public funds under his control, with even a stricter economy than he did his own, and put no loose construction upon laws made for their protection, for the benefit of himself or his friends. As governor, he assumed no doubtful executive powers, and he was content to do his full duty within the requirements of the constitution. He treated all offices as public trusts to be administered solely for the public good, and not for his own aggrandizement and cheap glory. He was even greater than the offices he filled, and honored them more than they honored him. His strict impartiality to his friends and enemies, both personal and political, and his almost captious particularity in official business, in matters small as well as great, his rigid scrutiny into the subordinate public service, and his selection of the best only, to fill the offices within his own appointment, made him unpopular with those who look only to the profits of political friendships, and expect dishonest rewards to be paid

out of the public treasury, for political services. From his subordinates, he exacted no personal or political loyalty to himself, but only obedience to law and a strict discharge of duty. His private character may be disposed of in a single sentence. So far as I have knowledge, it was exemplary and above reproach. As in office he always gave to the public more than he received, so his life has been distinguished by his private and public benefactions, and so he died, and his memory will always be honored by our people.

Secretary Draper read the following expression, contributed by Ex-Gov. Wm. B. Washburn, of Massachusetts, the associate in Congress of Gen. C. C. Washburn.

During the war in the year 1862, I first met General Washburn in Washington. He had been assigned to duty in the Department of the Gulf under General Grant. It was at a time when the cause of the Union seemed to be enveloped in a dark cloud. The most courageous were despondent, and the minds of all were filled with grave doubts as to the future. At such an hour I shall never forget how refreshing it was to meet such a strong, brave man, fresh from the field of conflict. He inspired all with whom he mingled with new hope and courage, and allowed no one for a moment to doubt the ultimate triumph of our cause. He impressed you at the first as a man of indomitable will and energy, determined to show the sincerity of his convictions by his deeds, and ready to risk, if need be, everything he possessed, in order that victory might be ours.

He remained in the army till he saw his predictions in regard to the ultimate triumph of the Union arms fully verified. Possessing those qualities which fitted him in an eminent degree to discharge the duties of public life in that trying hour of our country's history, he was not allowed to remain at home to devote himself long to his large private business. He was at once selected to represent his district in Congress. It was there I met him daily, and knew him best. He did not labor to make himself conspicuous by the frequent sound of his voice, but rather by wise counsel and faithful service to guard the interests of his constituents, and to promote the welfare

of the State. He was rarely absent from his post of duty, and rarely, if ever, found recorded upon the wrong side of any of the great questions of the day. He was affable and courteous, frank and generous in his intercourse with his fellow-members, and thereby gained a wide and powerful influence, to secure the success of any important measure in which he might become interested. He always guarded with jealous care the rights of the people, and was ever on the alert to secure the passage of such measures as in his view would specially promote their welfare. Our railroads, spreading their networks over every section of the country, quickening into renewed intensity the exchanges of business and the intercourse of men, brought blessings the value of which could never be computed by figures, and yet were destined, he feared, to become at no distant day, great monopolies, managed in such a manner as to add to the wealth of the few, at the expense of the many. He labored faithfully by his voice and vote to provide such safeguards as should insure the people at large their full share of the advantages to be derived from these great thoroughfares.

But he became more especially interested in the telegraph system of the country. To this subject he gave much of his time and strength. This mysterious agency which man had subjected, obediently carried his commands across all lands and seas, and connected all civilized lands together, and was yet destined, as he believed, to unite the families of men even more closely together. To this end he desired its advantages should be enjoyed by every rank and class of society. In England the state acquired by purchase all telegraphs, and so extended the system that in a short time every village in the kingdom enjoyed the inestimable privilege of instantaneous communication with every part of the inhabited globe. He feared that in this country the system was destined to be so managed, that its extravagant rates would confine its advantages to the few, and the great mass of the people would be deprived of its benefits. He accordingly spent much time in the preparation of a measure similar to the English plan, which gave the government the ownership and control of the entire system. It was to be as general and universal in its operations as the postoffice system; and, in fact, to be made a sort of adjunct to that institu-

tion. The rates were to be reduced to the lowest possible point, and cover expenses, so that all might enjoy its advantages, and thus it should be made a general, universal educator of every section and condition of the country. He failed in his endeavor, and his predictions have already been most painfully realized. The system has become a gigantic fraud, robbing the many to enrich the few.

As I reflect upon General Washburn's public career, I am compelled to say that I never met him in the way of public duty without being impressed by a sense of his sound judgment and high principle. He held his opinions from conviction; and, according to his light, served the nation purely, honestly and faithfully; and whoever has done that with all his ability, has done his best. He has passed away, but his noble works and generous deeds still remain. The present and coming generations shall continue to enjoy the rich fruits of his labors and sacrifices, and now and then one may be encouraged to imitate some of his many virtues.

Prof. John B. Parkinson, of the State University, spoke as follows:

The lives of the great and good really need no eulogium. Their deeds speak for them, and are often more eloquent than words. This is true of him whose private character and public services we are met to commemorate, and whose life throughout was marked with the rarest qualities of honor, courage, wisdom, and manly virtue.

Few men of our State, perhaps none, have taught more by their example, and taught better, than C. C. Washburn. Coming to the wild West of forty years ago, with no fuller equipments than two hands, a clear brain, and a stout heart, he entered at once upon the work of its subduing with an enthusiasm born of unconquerable energy and boundless faith. From the beginning to the end, he grew in power and influence, and finally reached that almost perfect stature of vigorous and symmetrical manhood, which may fitly be claimed as a part of the well ripened fruitage, from good seed, of this teeming West.

To a really successful life the end can never come untimely.

Such a life was Governor Washburn's; not without disappointments—hours of watching and waiting, and temporary discomfiture—but viewed as a whole, eminently successful. For forty years in private station and public service, he went in and out before the people of this commonwealth, and in sight of the world. No word can be truthfully said of that life which does not honor his memory.

It is a part of success to amass wealth, if done honestly, and with conspicuous fair dealing. It is a mark of success to win public honors, in State and nation, if they are bestowed as a badge of confidence or reward of merit. Such success was Gov. Washburn's, but it was not his highest nor his best. This lay in the line of his moral manhood. It consisted in building up, and preserving intact, throughout all the temptations of private business, and the seductions and blandishments of public station, those qualities of head and heart which gave him a reputation for stern integrity and unbending uprightness. He may have erred in judgment. All men do so; but the occasions are rare, even under the impulse of conflicting business interests or party excitement, when anyone has ventured to impugn his motives or question his integrity.

The most successful man of affairs is one who not only knows how to accumulate wealth, but also how to use it to advantage. Here, also, Gov. Washburn showed his strong practical sense and kindly nature. His benefactions during life, and the public legacies he left at his death, evinced a catholicity of spirit which were characteristic of the man. Of these I need not speak. It is enough to say that his gift to the University is especially unique in kind, and timely in its making. But his services to that institution are not measured by the worth of the observatory alone. His highest and best contribution, after all, is the example of his life and character. This his other gifts help to commemorate, and thereby do double service.

The observatory is a noble contribution to a special and very important branch of science. Its quickening influence, too, will touch all branches, and so its value to the University can scarcely be over-estimated. But it is an aid to young men chiefly in one department, while the life and character of Mr.

Washburn himself, is a direct and constant help to them everywhere, and in all departments.

Never in the history of our country was there more need of such teaching. The danger of the times is that we shall overlook personal character in estimating men's life-work. There is a tendency in certain directions to lower the standard of action—to confuse ideas of right and wrong—to consult policy first, and principle afterward—in brief, to stifle conscience and crush out manhood, in the strife for the great prizes which the world has to offer. Here lies the danger to which the young men of the day are especially exposed, and here the need of just such teaching as is emphasized by the life, character, and services of Mr. Washburn. These are worthy of careful study, and may be emulated by every young man, with profit to himself and advantage to the State.

No man in the Northwest, perhaps, could have died at this time and left a wider vacancy. The grief for his loss, too, is sincere and universal. It reaches to all classes—the high and the low, the rich and the poor. The firm hold he had upon the respect of his fellow-men was well attested at death. The halls of learning then were closed, the wheels of commerce refused to turn, and the busy hand of industry rested, that all might pay final tribute to the memory of departed worth.

Great heart, rest in peace! Many have toiled longer, few to better purpose. Besides:—"That life is long which answers life's great end." And better than all—and here we find partial compensation—of C. C. Washburn it may with deepest truth be said, "Although dead, he yet liveth."

Prof. James D. Butler, LL.D., offered the following remarks:

It is impossible for me to add anything to the impressions that have already been made. The address of Gen. Atwood reminded me of Barrow, who was styled the "unfair preacher," because he left nothing for speakers who came after him to say. At all events, gleaners after his harvest have plucked even the two or three berries that remained in the top of the uppermost bough, or in the outmost branches.

But my task is now hardest because the strongest impression of us all is that Washburn needs no eulogy, more than God needs proof of his existence. When sophists wandered over Greece proposing to declaim in praise of Hercules, men put them to shame, and sometimes reduced them to silence, by asking, "who has ever blamed him? Show us who has ever convicted him of faults, before you utter superfluous encomiums." In like manner our real feeling is that of the old Roman whose advice was, "Would you praise Cæsar, say Cæsar, go no farther." So of Washburn I may say, "More than his name is less."

But Washburn was our Hercules in more than one sense. He was like him a pioneer hero. He cleansed our Augean stable, slew many a lion, dragon and hydra that beset our path, and brought us the apples of the Hesperides. Both touched society at many points, and everywhere approved themselves masters of the situation. Tried in all vicissitudes of many colored life, the experience of both was often painful, but always profitable to their own characters. Thus both turned out

"Not like idle ore,
But iron dug in central gloom,
And heated hot by burning fears,
And dipped in baths of hissing tears,
And battered by the dints of doom,
To shape and use."

How Washburn's will had grown in skill! How much his capacities had been developed! But was not the greatest still behind, and not yet revealed?

I see before me the portrait of Nathaniel Ames. Twenty-two years ago he sat before me as I was delivering a Fourth of July oration in this park. He was the only surviving Revolutionary soldier in Wisconsin, and already in his hundredth year. He had served on the coast of Connecticut, had been a pioneer in western New York before the close of the eighteenth century, and was among the early pilgrims west of Lake Michigan. I called him a three-fold man—a man of three lives. He had fought the foes of his country on the land and on the sea, and, if the Almighty had given him wings, he would have fought them in the air. All this was done by Washburn and

on a grander theater in less than two-thirds of Ames' length of days. Had Washburn lived on, even up to the age of his own father—that is, eight and twenty years longer, what would he not have acquired? All rich men have found it first hard to make a little, and then easy to make much. Understanding better than most millionaires the true uses of wealth, he would have abounded more and more in benefactions. He would have devised new charities.

New charities, I say, he would have devised, for, like the apostle Paul, he strove not to build upon another man's foundation, but as a wise master-builder he laid foundations himself, that others might build thereon. Thus he was founder of the Dominican school, and of the observatory in this city, founder of the People's Library in La Crosse, founder of the hospital in Minneapolis—founder, I had almost said, of our Historical Society, of which he was president at his death—founder of modern milling on a mammoth scale, which doubles every grain of wheat. He deserves to outrank many founders of cities. His handiwork is nobler than theirs, and will outlast it—monumental as the pillars of Hercules.

Washburn is said to have failed to put the crowning keystone on the arch of his political aspirations. But if he failed to be elected senator, it was confessed on all hands that no office could honor him so much as he would honor the office, and that his failure was owing to his ignorance, or scorn, of political mysteries, say rather meannesses.

"A falcon, towering in his pride of place,
Was by a mousing owl hawked at and killed."

I am reminded of the lion of Lucerne—one of the grandest designs of Thorwaldsen. It is thirty feet long, and cut in a cliff of living rock overhanging a pool which mirrors every feature. That king of beasts has a spear thrust through his heart, but still, though moribund, grasps with both paws the escutcheon of France, symbolizing the unflinching firmness and fidelity of the Swiss guard, who died fighting against fearful odds in defense of the French monarch. Washburn also felt the iron enter his soul, but he remained tenacious of his principles to the last, no matter who might prove recreant, or what he himself might suffer.

Another spear of yet more rankling venom cut Washburn to the heart. His household temple became emptiness and desolation. She who in his bloom of youth had sat there as its angel, was possessed by a fiend whom no man could cast out. A skeleton was in his closet, a ghost haunted his home.

The behavior of Washburn all through the thirty years which it pleased Heaven to make his life bitter with this great sorrow, I cannot but admire beyond all the rest of his life. In the living death of one adored with the love of forty thousand brothers, a stoic would advise suicide. But Christian philosophy says: "When all the blandishments of life are done, the coward slinks to death—the brave live on."

But merely *to live* was intolerable to Washburn. He plunged into whatever his hand found to do with tenfold more energy than ever before, and when asked the reason of his intensified activities, by his intimates, Judge Potter and Dr. Hobbins, answered that it was not any need or care for wealth, but simply to escape becoming crazy himself through brooding over his domestic calamity. Business then became to him a strong tower in which he could take refuge from his woe. There his nervous excitement, of momentum vast as his own Mississippi Falls, and which, if dammed up, would have produced a deluge, found full scope—ample room and verge enough. Among other blessings, it gave better bread to millions.

The promise that "he who handleth a matter wisely shall find good," was fulfilled to Washburn. A serpent came to sting him like Moses, but when he seized it, it became a thaumaturgic wand for him as for Moses. Or, possibly, his transforming bane to blessing is best illustrated by what we observe in the pearl oyster. When a bit of gravel, slipping into his shell, chafes and irritates his delicate organs, he so lubricates and coats it that it becomes a pearl of price, a jewel that may hang twenty years before your eyes and never lose its lustre. Age cannot wither nor custom stale its infinite variety—the most celestial of all gems—for in the Divine revelator's vision of the city of God, "the twelve gates were twelve pearls, and every several gate was of one pearl."

Thrice and four fold happy may we count Washburn, since he had learned so much of the grand alchemy—the blest art

of turning all to gold. Seeing how high he rose above the low level, and low ideals of many around him, and how far he was lifted above his own grief, I shall always view his character as best shadowed forth by the crown of our continent—the loftiest mountain in our National Park, and which, as if through pre-established harmony, already bears his name.

"There a tall cliff lifts up its awful form,
Springs from the vale and midway leaves the storm,
Though rolling clouds around its breast be spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head."

Prof. Edward S. Holden, of the Washburn Observatory, submitted the following observations:

Governor Washburn's relations to the University of Wisconsin, and to its astronomical observatory, are twofold: they are special and general. As long as the observatory which he founded shall stand, and shall continue to do useful and faithful work, so long his name will be remembered among us all, and specially remembered by the students of our University, for whose benefit these instruments were placed. It is no small thing to thus impress one's name, even, upon succeeding generations of the young and ardent minds of a large community. But to those who knew Governor Washburn best, this will seem a comparatively small thing.

His character was greater than his works, and to any one who comes in contact with young minds, it will seem more important that they should become penetrated with the sense of his moral greatness, than that they should be impressed with the magnitude of his gifts. The college is the door-way to life as it is; and today, as always, a young man has to select not only the acquirements which will serve him, but the motives which are to guide him in his after life. There is a mental and a moral education.

It was this aspect of Governor Washburn's relations to the University which was especially considered in the resolutions which the faculty of the University caused to be entered upon their records. And I cannot better express my own sense of the high value which so simple and great a life may be to the

students of our University, than by transcribing these resolutions here.

At a meeting of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin, held May 22, 1882, the following report of a committee was unanimously adopted:

Whereas, By the death of Gov. Washburn, the University of Wisconsin has lost a wise and generous friend, one of its board of regents, and the founder of its astronomical observatory; and

Whereas, The president and faculty of the University wish to place upon record their appreciation of his eminent services and of his honorable life, be it

Resolved, That the faculty of the University desire to commend to the attention of all men, and most especially to the attention of the students of the University, the consideration of Gov. Washburn's life and character.

That life was marked by rare qualities of perfect honor, of high courage, of sober wisdom, of steady public and private virtue.

Such a life has always been, and will always be, the highest testimony to the essential soundness of the political and social system under which it grows; and his life was an almost ideal realization of the best possibilities of our republic.

It may stand before his fellow-citizens, and specially before the young men of Wisconsin, as an example of success which could only have been achieved by the strongest mental faculties directed by the most sturdy moral force.

For forty years his life has been spent among us, open to all to see. No word can be said of it which does not honor his memory. As a public man he served his country for ten years in the Congress of the United States; for two years as governor of Wisconsin; and as a general of brigade and division during five years of open war. All his public service was marked by the integrity which distinguished his private life.

His extensive business affairs were so conducted as to be of great importance to the community in which he lived. The success which he attained is felt by his neighbors as a positive benefit. It was won by the most conspicuous fair dealing; and it led to no other man's hurt.

The riches which he gained, he employed while he was living in public and private benefactions, and after his death he has left noble legacies for public uses.

The grief for his loss was confined to no class or condition. His body was followed to its resting place by the highest officers of the State, and by thousands of his fellow-citizens from every walk in life. The serious sorrow of a whole community is an impressive proof of the honor in which men hold a noble and an upright fellow man; it is a tribute which would dignify a king.

His whole life in its wide relations to politics, to affairs, to science and to society, has been a continuous and deserved success. It is to the essential cause of this success that his friends are proud to point, and to which those who are to succeed him, *must* attend.

That cause was found in his sound judgment, his strong reason, and his sober moral sense, which combined to produce his public virtues and his private kindness.

The fame of such a man is safe in the hands of his successors. It is for them to form themselves on his large and ample plan.

Resolved, That the relations of Governor Washburn to the University —as a member of its board of regents, and as the founder of the Washburn Observatory—were marked by wisdom and continued generosity.

The department which bears his name will never lose the impress of his character; and, in a wider sense, his liberal gifts will keep his memory fresh in the minds of his fellow-citizens, for whose benefit they were bestowed.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the family of Governor Washburn, with the assurance of the sincere sympathy of the faculty of the University in their private grief and personal loss.

Resolved, That these resolutions be spread on the minutes of the Faculty, and that they be printed in the college papers, conducted by the students of the University.

My personal relations with Governor Washburn began with a feeling of high respect upon my part, and grew to a manly affection and regard, which I am proud to believe became mutual. How many other complicated affairs were pressing upon him I never knew. I only knew that I could always have his undivided attention, and a clear decision. After the premature death of Professor Watson, I was called to take charge, not only of the astronomical, but of the business affairs of the new observatory, and I was frequently asked to give my opinion, both as a man of science and as an accountant. From the very first, I was struck by the way in which details of every sort were mastered by Governor Washburn's clear mind. I felt that the essential principle of what I was doing, or wished to do, were plain to him, and that he sympathized with the methods of science fully. In looking over copies of my letters to him, I find that I wrote as I would to a man of science in a branch different from my own. If the fundamental facts were presented, and an outline of the argument given, he was sure to see and understand.

I had no need to be persuasive or urgent. As soon as he saw that a thing was good, he approved of it, and the equipment of his observatory is a proof of this. I know of nothing which is there, which could be made better.

One thing only I was obliged to extort from him; and this

was the permission to place his portrait in his own observatory where it now hangs. He repeatedly refused this to me, and finally I only obtained permission by a pardonable subterfuge.

I caused a framed photograph of himself to be hung in a place where it was obviously inadequate, and it was to replace this photograph that the excellent painting by Mr. Stuart was made.

His main interest was, that the instruments should be "good" and sufficient; and I think that the chief pleasure which he derived from the observatory came, in the last days of his illness, in looking over the proof-sheets of our first volume of observations, which I regularly transmitted to him.

To you, whom I am addressing, these traits will seem to be a matter of course; and yet it takes but a moment's reflection to see that they are unusual and exceptional. In little things as in great, he displayed a sound and sufficient reason, and his motive force was simple and upright. It is, perhaps, a significant circumstance, that I, whose friendship for Governor Washburn is of a younger date than that of any of you—his associates and friends of years—should feel as if the things that needed most to be emphasized were the very things that each speaker has most dwelt upon—his moral character, his sturdy will, his steady goodness, his virtue in every public and private capacity. And the significance is in this—that each of us has felt that he was dealing with a character founded upon the eternal verities. His was such a soul as Chaucer has described—sober, pitiful, wise, true as steel itself. No man could meet him without honoring his strength, nor know him well without loving his rectitude.

Prof. O. M. Conover, LL. D., in behalf of the committee on resolutions, said:

On the evening of Sunday, the fourteenth of May last, the president of this Society, Cadwallader C. Washburn, passed away from earth. From the distant State in which he had been sojourning in the fond hope of a restoration to health, his mortal remains were brought by loving and reverent hands to Wisconsin. They were received at our borders as the possession

of the whole State, and, attended by a vast concourse of sincere mourners from all parts of our territory, and from all conditions in life, were consigned to their last resting place in the city of his former home. Within a few weeks after his decease, the general sentiment of respect and admiration for his character, and of regret for the close of his distinguished and beneficent career, had found expression, not only in the utterances of the commonwealth through its official head, and the singularly impressive incidents associated with the last solemn rites of burial, but in the declarations and resolutions of private associations and public bodies, military, civic and religious, almost without number. Meanwhile the State Historical Society has found until now no fitting occasion for the expression of its own sense of loss, or of the respect and affection in which it holds its departed chief; but its silence has been due to the fact that it was endeavoring to prepare, not only for immediate use, but for permanent preservation, some suitable memorial of the eminent citizen, patriot, statesman and public benefactor whom it delighted to honor. In the careful record of his laborious, fearless, faithful, upright, energetic, magnanimous and eminently useful and successful life, which has been presented as a part of the transactions of this meeting, and in the characteristic illustrations and loving memories of that life which accompany that record, will be found most fully expressed the tribute which this Society desires to pay to its late president. In addition to recording these authentic memorials of his career, and without adopting the conventional form of resolutions, the members of this Society hereby declare their profound sense of the value to the whole State of the noble character which has now passed from among the living. So long as great capacity, great common sense, strong and firm will, vast business and administrative faculty, and the most unquestionable and uncompromising probity, combined with enlightened patriotism and public spirit, a warm and humane heart, and large practical philanthropy, all informed, animated, and rendered effective by a physical and mental energy which only disease and death could overcome—so long as these high qualities, and long, arduous and eminent public service and private usefulness flowing from them, com-

mand the regard and admiration of mankind, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and the citizens of that State, without distinction of sect or party, will do homage to the memory of Cadwallader C. Washburn..

Hon. Mortimer M. Jackson, formerly a judge of the circuit and supreme courts of Wisconsin, long consul-general of the United States at the port of Halifax, and a brother-in-law of the late Gov. Washburn, being called upon, said:

I fully appreciate the kindness which has prompted the call made upon me to say a few words on this occasion.

I think, however, it would be quite out of place in me, especially at this late hour, to attempt to add anything to what has been so well, so eloquently, and so appropriately said by the distinguished gentlemen who have this evening addressed you respecting the life, character and public services of the late Cadwallader C. Washburn.

I, therefore, avail myself of your courtesy only to return, on behalf of the absent relatives of the deceased, their thanks for these memorial services, which I am sure they will regard with profound interest, and long remember with grateful appreciation.

Sketch of Charles H. Larrabee[1]

By Lyman C. Draper

Few men were more prominently connected with public affairs, or better personally known, in Wisconsin, from 1847 to 1864, than the subject of this sketch—a member of the convention that formed our constitution, a circuit judge, and, *ex-officio*, a justice of the supreme court—an unsuccessful candidate for chief justice—a prominent member of Congress—a volunteer in the ranks at the outbreak of our Civil War, then a lieutenant, a major, and finally a colonel; conducting himself with zeal and credit in four engagements, namely, the affairs at Lewinsville and Lee's Mills, and the battles of Williamsburg, and Perryville or Chaplin Hills. These long and useful services, civil and military, in behalf of Wisconsin, and, in part, in behalf of the Union, deserve a fitting record.

Charles Hathaway Larrabee was born in Rome, Oneida County, N. Y., Nov. 9th, 1820. His father, Maj. Charles Larrabee, of the U. S. army was a native of Connecticut descending from a Huguenot clergyman, who escaped from St. Bartholomew's massacre, in France, and migrated to the New World with a few of his surviving flock. About the middle of the seventeenth century, we find Greenfield Larrabee settled at Saybrook, Connecticut. Maj. Charles Larrabee commanded a company under Gen. Harrison at Tippecanoe, receiving his commander's special notice for his good services in that notable engagement with the Indians; and, at the battle of Brownstown, in August, 1812, he lost an arm while managing the artillery. In the maternal line, the subject of this notice descended from John Haynes, colonial governor, first of Massachusetts, and then of Connecticut; his mother's father,

[1] The delay in printing the latter part of this volume, permits the insertion of this sketch, which would otherwise have been postponed for the next issue of the series. L. C. D.

Judge Joshua Hathaway, was one of six brothers who carried muskets side by side under the famous Gen. John Stark, at Bennington, and who, July 4th, 1817, was selected to remove the first spade full of earth at the commencement of the Erie Canal.

His father, Maj. Larrabee, while yet connected with the army, was at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien in 1821, and was subsequently ordered to Chillicothe, Ohio. For a while he held the office of surveyor of the port of Cincinnati, by appointment of President Jackson. The early education of his son was principally obtained at Springfield Academy, and Granville College, now Denison University, Ohio, where he pursued an academic course in English studies, mathematics, and the ancient languages, excelling in debates with his fellows on the rostrum.

He read law with Gen. Samson Mason, and W. A. Rogers, prominent lawyers of Springfield, Ohio; but being yet young, he concluded to engage awhile in the hardy employment of civil engineering, and thus aided in the construction of the Little Miami railroad, the pioneer improvement of the kind in Ohio. Thence, in 1841, he went to Pontotoc, Mississippi, where he joined his old Granville classmate, the writer of this sketch; and where after a spasmodic attempt at farming, he was, in September, of that year, admitted to the bar, and was an unsuccessful candidate on the Bond-Paying Democratic ticket for the legislature. The climate not agreeing with him, he finally settled at Chicago, in July, 1844, where he engaged in the practice of law, and edited the *Democratic Advocate*, on the insignificant salary of twelve dollars a month, and where he was elected city attorney. On May 13th, 1846, he was united in marriage with Minerva Norton, a young lady of many accomplishments; and at the close of March, 1847, he settled at Horicon, Wisconsin; giving that beautiful name to the lake and village. He utilized the fine water-power at that point by the erection of mills, and there he made for himself a very cosy home.

In October of 1847, he was chosen one of the three members to represent Dodge County in the second constitutional convention, having been elected by a large majority, receiving the unanimous vote of the people of Horicon. Out of the sixty-four

members constituting the convention, but two were younger than Mr. Larrabee. "In this body," says Tenney and Atwood's *Memorial Record of the Fathers of Wisconsin*, "he served upon the committee on general provisions, comprising preamble, boundaries and admission of the State, suffrage and elective franchise, internal improvements, taxation, finance and public debt, militia, eminent domain, bill of rights, etc., and throughout took a leading and prominent part in its deliberations." Though somewhat restrained from any appearance of over-activity in the proceedings, by the advice of his veteran and experienced political friend, Hon. Stoddard Judd, one of his associates from Dodge County; yet his bright talents prompted him to speak on several occasions, and otherwise leave his impress on the constitution then formed, and subsequently adopted by the people.

Among the restrictions of the fundamental law, Mr. Larrabee strongly advocated the provision against a system of State internal improvements, and against a State debt, save for the suppression of insurrection or for war purposes, or other extraordinary necessities; contended for the right of the people to determine the territorial limits of their respective counties, lest they should be made too small, and hence too expensive, simply to gratify the intrigues of politicians; he spoke upon the question of the Northwestern boundary of the State; but the subject of homestead exemption— the protection of the homes of the poor—commanded his special sympathies and earnest exertions. It was, so to speak, Mr. Larrabee's special hobby in the convention; and he had the satisfaction to see it triumphantly adopted, and become one of the fixed laws of the State. "In this convention," says Hon. S. U. Pinney, in the third volume of his *Wisconsin Reports*, "he took an active and prominent part, advocating and laboring zealously for the homestead exemption clause, which was embodied in the constitution."

On the adoption of the constitution, Mr. Larrabee was, in July, 1848, chosen circuit judge of his district—a very large one, comprising six counties—by a very decided majority, making a large gain on his party's vote, and again receiving the unanimous suffrage of his fellow-citizens of Horicon. He wrote his friend, the

writer of this memoir: "On the 12th of July, as you know, I received the unanimous nomination of our Democratic convention for circuit judge. I am elected—and the only regular nominee chosen in the State. Our circuit court is composed of five judges, who likewise comprise the supreme court. I certainly very much distrust my fitness for the station. I know I have mind and firmness enough; but, then, I am such a lazy dog. However, I am at work, and shall keep at it." He served ten years most acceptably on the bench, having been once re-elected; and he served also in the capacity of an associate judge of the supreme court—the circuit judges constituting the court until the new supreme court was chosen, and went into operation in 1853. In 1852, Judge Larrabee was the nominee of his party for chief justice, but failed of an election.

Nominated as a candidate for Congress in 1858, he resigned, in October of that year, his seat upon the bench—"at the urgent solicitation," he says, "of Stephen A. Douglas, who wanted to show his anti-Lecompton strength in the Northwest, in view of the Charleston convention of 1860. I overcame 2,500 Republican majority in the district, and was elected by 1,200 majority," but when running for a re-election in 1860, he was swept under with Judge Douglas. During his term in Congress, he represented, as was said at the time, the largest district in point of population in the Union, numbering 350,000 people.

In December, 1859, Judge Larrabee took his seat in Congress, at a very exciting period of our nation's history, preceding the outbreak of the impending Civil War. "The struggle for the speakership," says Hon. F. W. Horn, "when that Congress met, is a matter of history—it was the last desperate effort of the South to gain the control of the house of representatives; and although Judge Larrabee's name was not brought forward for the speakership, yet it was, at one time, proposed to take him up as a compromise candidate; but his friendship for Mr. Douglas, and his being a new member, were in the way." Early in the session, Judge Larrabee delivered a very able speech, based on a supposed attack on the patriotism and loyalty of the Germans of Wisconsin; in which he placed himself fully on Judge Douglas' platform

touching slavery in the Territories, dilating pretty freely on the ethnology of the negro race, and closed with a vigorous defense of the Union of the States: "If," he declared, "you want to see the 'dark and bloody ground' of Kentucky stretched across this whole continent from East to West, then contemplate, or dare contemplate, the disruption of the American Union," broken up into hostile confederacies! His loyalty to the union of the States was outspoken, and enunciated in the most vigorous English, at a time when the Southern members of Congress were being rapidly drawn into the maelstrom of destruction.

Judge Larrabee's term in Congress expired on the 3d of March, 1861. The madness of the hour prevailed. Secession began its disintegrating work, and civil war, with all its horrors, soon burst upon the country. He was not the man to stand idly by, when the Union was threatened. Emulating the patriotism of his grandsire Hathaway, who had fought when only sixteen under the gallant Stark at Bennington, and of his father, who had led a company at the terrible onslaught at Tippecanoe, and lost an arm at Brownstown, Judge Larrabee hesitated not a moment when the hour for action arrived. The news of the fall of Fort Sumter on the 13th of April, reached Wisconsin the next day, when he promptly addressed the following letter to the Milwaukee *News*, with a view of arousing the enthusiasm of his party in support of the war:

HORICON, WIS., April 14, 1861.

ED. MILWAUKEE NEWS:—There is but one thing to do, and that is to stand by the Government to the end. All this might have been avoided without loss of honor, or abating a particle from any valuable principle. But now one must be either with the Government or against it. I am with it, and am ready to go wherever I can be most useful. All questions of party are now gone forever. No party can withstand such a revolution, and hence it is idle to talk of Republicanism or Democracy. The war will continue from one to five years; and after the war, either the Southern Confederacy will be recognized, or we shall build up a stronger Government. Specific powers will be given the States, and all others reserved to the General Government. We have the strongest Government on earth against outside attack, and the weakest against internal foes. We must make it stronger in the latter view. But this is speculation, for no man can foresee the result. There is blame on both sides. The Republican party was powerless in success, with Senate and House against it, and certain dissolution in the ordeal of distributing

offices. Hence there was no necessity for revolution. On the other hand, the wicked course of the Anti-Slavery leaders is the principal cause of the disasters now upon us. But now, with a heavy heart, though determined will, I shall be found wherever my country calls. Yours as ever,

CHAS. H. LARRABEE.

On the same day, Judge Larrabee wrote patriotic letters to Gov. Randall, and Gen. Rufus King, the latter then at Washington, preparing for his departure as minister to Rome. Gov. Randall replied, April 18th:

MY DEAR JUDGE:—Your note, offering aid in this time of trouble, was received, and I need not tell you that among the offers of assistance promptly made to me by men of all parties, none has given me more satisfaction than yours. It is as much through the promptness and boldness of such men that the masses are aroused, as through the causes that led to that excitement. It is very likely that another regiment will be immediately raised; and if so, I shall be pleased to have you take stock in it. I wish you would advise with the Horicon company as to the manner of enrollment. They must act promptly. Thanking you most heartily, I am, as ever, yours,

A. W. RANDALL.

Gen. King wrote from Washington, April 18th:

MY DEAR LARRABEE:—Yours is just received. Good for you! I expected nothing less from a man whose heart is always right. I have shown your letter to Mr. Seward, who was greatly pleased with it.

The very best thing for you to do, is to join the staff of the regiment called into service from our State. The Governor will, no doubt, give you an appointment if you desire it. There is nothing in the gift of the War Department.

We have "wars and rumors of wars" in plenty. Washington has been in great danger; but is, I think, all safe now. Yesterday we had 3,000 troops here—800 of them Regulars. Three thousand more arrived this morning, and as many additional are expected to-morrow. Within a week there will be 25,000 in and around the Capital. I do not believe the "Confederate States" will undertake to attack a city so defended.

I shall sail for Europe on Saturday week, unless my services are deemed necessary here. If so, I will stay till the ball is over.

My notion is, that the Government will content itself with occupying Washington, St. Louis, Cairo, Fort Monroe, and one or two other prominent points with ample forces; blockade all the Southern ports; cut off their mail and telegraph facilities; stop all supplies now found down the Mississippi, and then let secession *sweat itself out*.

If they want to fight, they must take the initiative, and invade the North. I don't think they will try that on.

Always Truly Yours, RUFUS KING.

Write to me at 28 W. 14th St., New York.

On the 17th of April, Judge Larrabee enlisted as a private in the Horicon Guard, an independent militia company, which had made a tender of its services for the first Wisconsin regiment, just called for by the general government. Judge Larrabee's prompt and energetic action in support of the war, did much to arouse the enthusiasm of the people, and promote the enrollment of volunteers. Before his company arrived in Milwaukee, he was elected a second lieutenant, and acted promptly in that capacity.

Other regiments, however, were soon called into service, and Judge Larrabee was commissioned by Gov. Randall, major of the Fifth Wisconsin, May 28th, 1861; and marched to the front in July, arriving on the Potomac early in August, where he saw much hard service on the lines, participating actively in the exposures, hardships, and dangers incident to war. The Fifth was first assigned to Gen. Rufus King's brigade, and constructed the earthworks on the south side of the Potomac, known as Fort Marcy; but was soon after attached to Hancock's brigade, in Gen. W. F. Smith's division.

The men passed through five drills every day, the monotony of which was sometimes relieved by war's alarms—and which, whether true or false, aided in preparing the men for prompt action when the foe should really appear. A correspondent, writing Oct. 25th, relates this incident: "About noon, in some unaccountable manner, news reached our camp that our gallant Major Larrabee was surrounded by a superior force, and was having a desperate fight, and the rest of the brigade rushed out on a double quick to the rescue. They found the major and his command quietly preparing to return to camp, not having seen Seceshers enough to engage a corporal's guard."

While on a large foraging expedition, Major Larrabee participated in the affair at Lewinsville, Sept. 11th, 1861. Capt. Emerson, of the Fifth Regiment related, that on that occasion, Maj. Larrabee was ordered forward with the five companies composing the left wing of the regiment, to support Griffin's battery. Having disposed his men first behind the crest of a hill, on the right of the battery, he ordered every man of them to lie down, concealed from the enemy's view, so that if he should be bold

enough to charge the battery, he would meet with an unexpected reception.

Presently the shot and shell began coming pretty thick, striking the ground some four rods in front of the line. Soon Griffin's battery opened on the rebels, and every shell would burst over the rebels guns. The boys couldn't lie still any longer, but got up, some on their knees, and bolder ones on their feet, to see where our shells would strike—paying no regard whatever to the missiles coming from the rebels, and striking in front and near them. Maj. Larrabee, who was in company with Gen. Smith and staff, near the battery, observing the boys of the Fifth thus evincing their curiosity, and fearing some of them might get hit, galloped up to them, saying: "I told you to lie down, you rascals—*down,* every one of you; the first thing I know some of you will get hurt. It is astonishing how little you care for your lives." The boys lay down, as ordered; but wondered if the major knew he was quite as good a mark on his horse, "Bony," as they were on foot. The Confederates at length retired, and the expedition proved successful.

During the autumn and early winter of 1861–62, Hon. Wm. A. Richardson, then a member of the house of representatives from Illinois, and other War Democrats, made an effort to have Maj. Larrabee promoted to a brigadier-general as up to that time none but Republicans had been appointed to that rank—and, in fact, none from Wisconsin but members of that party, it is believed, during the war. Prompted by this effort, Gen. Hancock wrote to Hon. Simon Cameron, secretary of war, the following commendation:

CAMP GRIFFIN, VA., NOV. 30, 1861.

Sir:—Maj. Chas. H. Larrabee, 5th Wis. Vols., has been under my command for some time (two months). Having had occasion to see a great deal of him in camp, and on detached service in command of troops under my own eye, I can, with great pleasure, state that his habits of thought and action, and his general bearing, point him out as a person eminently fitted to command troops. I have seen no more efficient officer among those who have not had great experience in military matters. It is true, that the talents of Maj. Larrabee are not being used in the volunteer service to the best advantage.

I am, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,

W. S. HANCOCK, Brig. Gen'l Vols.

While this effort proved unavailing, Maj. Larrabee, by his faithful services, and energy of character, was steadily making friends and reputation in the army. His division commander, Gen. Smith, tendered him the appointment of provost marshal on his staff, which he declined for the reason that he preferred to serve with his regiment during the campaign on the Peninsula, which had then just commenced its operations. Gen. Smith's assistant adjutant-general, L. D. Currie, wrote Maj. Larrabee, March 8, 1862, as follows:

"*Sir:*—I am directed by Brig. Gen. W. F. Smith, commanding this Division, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th ult., and to express his regret that, under existing circumstances, you have thought it unadvisable to accept the appointment of Provost Marshal of this Division. Gen. Smith regrets this determination on your part the more, as by your zeal and assiduity on a previous occasion, you much advanced the interests of his Division."

In the latter part of March, 1862, on a reconnaissance up James River, above Newport News, a correspondent wrote: "We all began to feel uneasy about Major Larrabee, who had command of two companies, I and D, who were ordered out to act as flankers. It appears that the major and his command crossed what is called Rich Creek where the tide was low, and proceeded two miles farther, drove in a squad of Rebel cavalry, and when he returned he found the tide in, which made it too deep to cross; but making the best of his situation, he encamped there that night, and the next day he rejoined us at camp without accident, although he was fired at by the rebel gun-boats." Gen. Hancock, sometimes himself commanding on foraging expeditions, would order Major Larrabee to lead the advance guard on the outward march, and the rear guard on returning—showing his confidence in the major's efficiency, and the "stuff" he was made of.

Stern work was now at hand. McClellan advanced against the enemy, strongly entrenched, in and around Yorktown. Maj. Larrabee served in the attack on a strong fort, erected to guard a dam over Warwick Creek, between Wynn's and Lee's mills, and some four miles from Yorktown, April 16th. "The object of the attack," says Gen. McClellan, "was merely to prevent the further construction of works, and feel the strength of the position." The

enemy, it was related, lost one hundred and forty-five killed, wounded, and prisoners; while the Union loss was thirty-five killed, one hundred and twenty wounded, and nine prisoners—mostly while attempting to wade the stream. Dr. A. L. Castleman, surgeon of the Fifth Wisconsin, who was an eye-witness, states in his work on the *Army of the Potomac*, that "about two hundred brave men were sacrificed." As the Fifth Wisconsin did not share in this attack, and Maj. Larrabee states that he participated in it, it is presumed that he served temporarily as a volunteer—probably on the staff of Gen. Smith, who commanded on that occasion.

On the night of the 3d of May, the Confederates evacuated Yorktown, which was occupied by the Union troops the next day; and towards evening of the 4th, the Fifth Wisconsin was among the force designated to attack the field-works known as Fort Magruder—the largest of thirteen redoubts—which extended nearly across the Peninsula from the York to the James River.

After an ineffectual attempt to reach and attack the fort that night, the regiment, in thick darkness, at eleven o'clock, was ordered to lie down. The rain descended in torrents. Without knapsacks, blankets, or food, and exhausted by long wading through deep mud, they uncomplainingly made the best of their situation. It was fortunate that the Fifth Wisconsin missed its route on that dark and stormy night, for Fort Magruder was defended by several regiments, as the next morning's light revealed.

On the morning of the 5th of May, after wading through mud and water for three miles, Maj. Larrabee was ordered, with four companies of the Fifth, to dash across a mill-dam over Cub Dam Creek, a small tributary of Queen's Creek—regarded at the time as one of the most perilous and heroic undertakings of the war, as that passage was confronted with a formidable redoubt. A writer in the Milwaukee *Wisconsin* mentions "Maj. Larrabee's daring act of crossing a narrow mill-dam, in the face of the most formidable looking fort I ever saw. True, that fort was not occupied; but it was impossible for him to know it; and twenty men behind its walls could, in five minutes, have annihilated the

whole force sent against it." This was not sheer recklessness on Maj. Larrabee's part, but was simply prompt obedience to military orders.

Having passed the mill-dam on the run, the detachment filed to the left of the redoubt, and entered it without resistance, the work having been abandoned. The remainder of the regiment and other troops, with Wheeler's battery, quickly followed. Lieut. Col. Emery, with five companies of the Fifth, was sent forward as skirmishers. Col. Cobb, with the remainder of the regiment, advanced four hundred yards in support of his skirmish line, and the battery; and the latter began to play upon the rebel stronghold, Fort Magruder. The enemy now sallied out, and advanced upon the skirmishers, who slowly retired. The battery now fell back to the rear, while the skirmishers checked the rebel cavalry. This was about half past four in the afternoon. Col. Cobb was told that the enemy's cavalry was charging down on him, and he immediately, aided by Maj. Larrabee, threw his men into a hollow square. As the cavalry did not appear, the regiment was again formed in battle array, under a most galling fire of the enemy.

Not receiving the reinforcements called for, Gen. Hancock ordered the Wisconsin troops to fall back fighting, to a better position. The enemy, under Gen. Early, and other leaders, pressed on, yelling by way of intimidation, "Bull's Run! Ball's Bluff!" They seemed determined to capture the battery, or die in the attempt. Gradually and slowly the Wisconsin boys fell back, disputing every inch of the ground; and within twenty rods of the Badger regiment, the enemy opened a heavy fire, when Cobb's men began to waver, seeing which, their brave colonel cried out: "Will you leave me and the old flag?" "No! Never!" was shouted on every hand. This checked the enemy for a moment, when the Wisconsin boys fell back, joining the Sixth and Seventh Maine regiments, who united with the Badger troops, in sending volley after volley into the enemy. It seemed like a sheet of flame. At this opportune juncture, the Union batteries opened upon them with grape, when they broke and fled in the wildest confusion. "They run! they run!" broke forth from the heroic Unionists, and cheer upon cheer arose above the din of the con-

fliet. Hancock rode rapidly up and down the ranks, encouraging the men to stand fast, and ordered the Fifth Wisconsin, Seventh Maine, and Thirty-Third New York forward, when they charged down upon the foe with a shout that made the welkin ring. "The enemy's charge," says an eye-witness, "an audacious one, was repulsed with great slaughter—almost entirely of infantry on both sides—the rebels displaying a courage worthy of a better cause, while the Wisconsin boys met them with the cool determination of veterans."

A correspondent of the New York *Herald*, speaking of this famous charge of the Fifth Wisconsin, Seventh Maine, and New York Thirty-Third, said: "Away went the regiments, with one glad cheer. Gallant as our foes undoubtedly were, they could not stand that. But few brigades mentioned in history have done better than this did, for a space which was generally estimated at three-quarters of a mile. They advanced under the fire of a splendidly served battery, and with a cloud of skirmishers stretched across their front, whose fire was very destructive; and if, after that, the Rebels had not had a line of bayonets that came toward them like the spirit of destruction, it need not be wondered that they broke and fled in complete panic. Nearly five hundred were killed and taken prisoners."

"This," declares another writer, "was probably the most brilliant charge made during the day. Our regiments all did nobly, but none of them more so than the Fifth Wisconsin and Forty-Third New York. Col. Cobb and Major Larrabee, of the Fifth Wisconsin, and Cols. Fenton and Pearson, of the Forty-Third New York,[1] are deserving of especial praise. The charge made by Hancock saved us the day in all probability." "Gen. Hancock," says Lossing, "finally made a fierce bayonet charge, when the Confederates broke and fled, with precipitation, with a loss of over five hundred men."

[1] This writer plainly errs in stating that the Forty-Third New York, with Cols. Fenton and Pearson, shared in the charge. The official reports, and Judd's *Story of the Thirty-Third New York Volunteers*, prove conclusively that it was the Thirty-Third, with Cols. Taylor and Corning, that took part in this service.

Another letter-writer, speaking at the time, of the battle of Williamsburg, said: "Of Maj. Larrabee, I have so often written, that you will scarcely need to be told, that he was everywhere, inspiring every one with his indomitable energy and perseverance." The Milwaukee *Sentinel* stated, that "correspondents writing of the gallant charge of Hancock's brigade, pay the Wisconsin Fifth marked compliments, and speak especially of the coolness and courage of Col. Cobb and Maj. Larrabee." The Wisconsin boys gained not these undying laurels without a heavy sacrifice—nine killed and seventy wounded.

Gen. McClellan, in his report, speaks of Gen. Hancock having been "confronted by a superior force. Feigning to retreat slowly, he awaited their onset, and then turned upon them, and after some terrific volleys of musketry, he charged them with the bayonet, routing and dispersing their whole force. *This was one of the most brilliant engagements of the war.*"

Two days after the action, Gen. McClellan, accompanied by Gens. Smith and Hancock, visited the regiment at dress parade, and addressed the boys familiarly: "My lads, I have come to thank you for the bravery and discipline which you displayed the other day. On that day, you won laurels of which you may well be proud—not only you, but the army, the State, and the country to which you belong. Through you, we won the day, and 'Williamsburg' shall be inscribed upon your banner. I cannot thank you too much, and I am sure the reputation your gallantry has already achieved, will always be maintained." Gen. McClellan then paid a similar compliment to the Seventh Maine, and Thirty-Third New York regiments, proclaiming that the word "Williamsburg" should also be emblazoned on their banners. He also declared that Gen. Hancock's conduct in securing the victory was "SUPERB," which carries with it the highest possible compliment to the Fifth Wisconsin, its officers and men, and their heroic associates on that memorable battle-field.

Military reputation is but too often a target for the envious. Speaking of the battle of Williamsburg, Dr. Castleman, in his work, observes: "I have heard it stated, that Maj. Larrabee was not at his post during the fight. It is due to the major to state

emphatically, that he was not only in the fight, but actively engaged wherever there were symptoms of wavering, and where duty called him."

The next day after the battle, and while pursuing the enemy, a correspondent remarks: "In passing, I visited the burial place of Daniel Park Custis, whose son was the first husband of Mrs. George Washington. The place was a ruin, and I saw Maj. Larrabee copying the inscription on a broken monolith. What a sight—an army marching over the ground where Washington once lived, to fight Virginians!" Though Washington never lived there, he had often, no doubt, visited the place.

The Chickahominy swamps, and the lowlands of Virginia, with the exposures of the campaign, began to tell on the army, and Maj. Larrabee did not escape the prevalent sickness. Chronic diarrhœa prostrated him, and he was, in consequence, confined sometime in the hospital at White House, Virginia.

In the organization of new regiments, Gov. Salomon, appointed Maj. Larrabee to the command of the Twenty-Fourth Wisconsin, He at once resigned his position in the Fifth, July 25th, 1862. That evening the officers of the regiment met and unanimously passed the following preamble and resolutions:

"Whereas, The Executive of our State has testified his appreciation of the abilities and distinguished services of Maj. Charles H. Larrabee, by conferring upon him the highest military trust within his gift, in commissioning him Colonel of one of the Wisconsin regiments recently accepted by the President, we, the officers of the Fifth, desiring to avail ourselves of this opportunity to testify our respect, our esteem, and our affection for our late Major, do adopt the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That while we deeply deplore the loss to our regiment of an experienced and able officer, and to ourselves of a wise counsellor, social companion, and true and tried friend, we at the same time congratulate the nation, the State, and the regiment which he has to command, upon the selection of one so eminently fit to train to arms, and lead to battle, the sons of the Badger State.

"*Resolved*, That although in future marches, when the hills and valleys shall resound with the tread of armies and the clash of arms, we shall miss the encouraging words of our beloved Major, yet the cheering recollections of the past, when we first entered upon the theatre of war, and fought our first battle, inspired by his presence and example, shall nerve our hearts to a firmer determination for our country to conquer, or for our country to die.

"*Resolved*, That while we bid him a regretful adieu, and a God-speed in his new field of usefulness and labor, we hopefully look forward with pleasing anticipations to the time when the troubles, which now convulse our country, are over, and we shall be permitted to enjoy many happy re-unions at home."

After the adoption of this expression of his associates in arms, "Major Larrabee," says one present, "gave us a little talk. He said many good things, as he always does when he talks, and promised within sixty days to bring into the field a regiment, which would strive to equal the brilliant career of the Fifth Wisconsin. The feeling was, this will be hard to do, major; you have taken a heavy load; may your shoulders bear up under it. The major left the next morning and really there was a feeling of loneliness in camp. The best wishes of all the regiment go with him."

Gov. Salomon was commended in the Wisconsin gazettes for promoting Major Larrabee to the command of a new regiment: "He has been in active service since the commencement of the war; has proved himself an efficient, brave and popular officer, and has by his zealous, patriotic and untiring exertions richly earned the position to which he is now assigned." Reaching Milwaukee August 1st, he made a brief speech the next day to the Chamber of Commerce, thanking them for the noble part they had taken in raising the Twenty-Fourth Regiment; and declaring that his men should be well drilled, and that he was not going to the front to fight for any "ism," but "for the preservation of our nationality;" that, in his opinion, the idea of conciliation or compromise was absurd; that, in short, the war must be fought out by hard knocks.

Col. Larrabee at once appointed a series of war meetings in his old congressional district, at the county towns of Ozaukee, Sheboygan, Washington and Dodge, accompanied by such men as Edward G. Ryan, H. L. Palmer, Matt. H. Carpenter, and others, and succeeded in arousing such enthusiasm as to bring into the field enough men, it was said, for four regiments. In the final adjustment of the volunteers, Col. Larrabee's regiment was made up mainly of Milwaukee men—eleven enlisting from the *Wisconsin* printing office alone. Col. Larrabee received a stand of

colors awarded by the State to the colonel who should first raise his regiment; and a fine band of music was made up from the men of his command.

But little drilling of the regiment was done before it was ordered to the front. The muster of the several companies was completed on the 21st of August—the next day Col. Larrabee received his commission; and on the 5th of September the Twenty-Fourth left Milwaukee for Kentucky, one thousand and twenty strong. On the 8th of October the regiment received its baptism of fire at the battle of Perryville or Chaplin Hills, serving as a part of Greusel's brigade, and Gen. P. H. Sheridan's division. In that engagement, Col. Larrabee's Badger boys were held in reserve in support of a battery, yet shared in the activities and perils of the day.

An eye-witness and participant in the operations of the regiment writes: "Our general says, that the Twenty-Fourth Wisconsin saved the battery in that bold and terrific charge by Walker's and Adams' Confederate brigades. The rebels came up through the corn-field in two solid lines; and as the grape and canister mowed through their ranks, they closed up and steadily advanced. We were in the rear of the battery when they first advanced, and were moved by the west flank around to its left, taking our position on the road. The hill-top was before us, and shielded us from the bullets that hummed like a hornet's nest over us, not a foot above our heads. The Fifty-Second Ohio was over the brow of the hill, and was driven back slowly until they rested on our front. Then, at that critical moment, Col. Larrabee gave the command to advance to the hill-top, and fire. Our left was screened by a piece of woods, and was not one hundred feet from the solid Rebel lines, which halted at the fence that enclosed the field, and who were subjected to the terrible cross and direct fire of our battery, the Twenty-Fourth Wisconsin, the Thirty-Sixth Illinois, and the Fifty-Second Ohio; their almost demoniacal cheers were soon discomfited, they broke ranks and skedaddled. The officers of the Twenty-Fourth acted with fearlessness and discipline. Col. Larrabee is a model and brave officer, and acted accordingly."

Another member of the regiment gave this account of the operations of the Twenty-Fourth: "After standing under fire for about fifteen minutes, we received orders from Gen. Sheridan to move across the road, and pass to the left, where the rebels were making a desperate effort to out-flank the left of our division. Col. Larrabee immediately gave the order—'By the left flank, double quick, march!'—and away we went, crossing a road enfiladed by Rebel musketry; and, in less time than it takes to write, it, we were again formed into line, in front of a corn-field, which was perfectly alive with the enemy. We fired half a dozen rounds at them, and they skedaddled, leaving guns, knapsacks, clothing, and everything else behind they could not conveniently carry away. We followed them a short distance, and company "B" deployed as skirmishers through the corn-field, and had the honor of capturing five prisoners—Sergeant Alanson taking three, and Corporal Rogers two. Col. Larrabee also captured one, who was hiding behind the fence. We were actively engaged about an hour, and exposed to a heavy fire the greater part of the time. Col. Larrabee gave his orders as coolly as on dress parade; and it was probably owing, in a great degree, to his coolness and nerve, that the regiment acquitted themselves so well."

In his official report of the part the Twenty-Fourth took in the battle, Col. Larrabee said: "I cannot commend too highly the conduct of both officers and men. They advanced, under fire of the enemy, and formed into position with the coolness and celerity of veterans." It was remarkable that so few casualties occurred—only one of the regiment killed, and three wounded; the ridge in their front, and being prostrate upon the ground, saved them in the earlier part of the engagement.

Brigade Commander Greusel thus spoke in his report of Col. Larrabee's regiment in the action: "The Twenty-Fourth Wisconsin went forward with cheers, and soon engaged the enemy's right, pouring in, and keeping up a cross-fire on their brigade, which made sad havoc among them. This wing was the first to break, the regiment following it to the left on the road until out of range when, after thus gallantly distinguishing themselves, they

retired to the top of the hill for the night. Both officers and men behaved with coolness and deliberation, marching to the front with the steadiness of veterans, and firing very regularly, though under a severe fire of musketry. Col. C. H. Larrabee cannot be too much praised for his coolness and good soldierly behavior during the whole engagement, ever prompt to obey my orders."

The army advanced southward to Nashville and Murfreesborough. Col. Larrabee's old Chickahominy troubles again incapacitated him a portion of the time from service, and we find him at Nashville on sick leave in November. As important operations were anticipated, he too soon repaired to the front; but found himself unequal to the exposures incident to the season, and the unusual activity of the service, and was compelled to retire to Nashville to recuperate. His regiment participated in the battle of Murfreesborough or Stone's River, Gen. Rosecrans commanding the Union forces, and Gen. Bragg the Confederates; and after three days' hard fighting, commencing December 31st, victory crowned the Union arms.

While the great battle was yet in progress, Col. Larrabee wrote, Jan. 1st, 1863, to Hon. Alexander Mitchell: "With an ulcerated throat, and an almost entire loss of voice, I marched with the regiment the first day, in a heavy rain; the night following I could get no sleep, my throat grew rapidly worse, and my voice gave out. I had already turned the command over to Maj. Hibbard; and, the next morning, I summoned courage enough to yield to the advice of my surgeon and officers, and returned to Nashville. I had every confidence that they would do their duty, I had confidence in the skill and self-sacrifice of the major. This confidence has been more than met. I hear nothing but good of the regiment from all sides; but, my friend, not to be with my regiment has been the hardest task I have ever been called upon to perform. You well know that nothing short of entire physical incapacity would have induced me to let the regiment march without me."

At length Col. Larrabee so far recovered as to repair to the front, at Murfreesborough, on the 1st of March. "He was received," writes one of his men, "with three rousing cheers from the boys, and a serenade by the band—than which there is none

better in the business. The colonel made a speech to the boys after 'tattoo,' last night, and expressed his happiness in meeting them again. It was natural to see him once more with us, and we all hope that his health will permit him to remain. He certainly looks improved in every respect, and if he is as well as he looks, we have no fears."

Col. Larrabee's will power kept him up as long as possible. He was proud of his regiment, loved the service, and was popular with all classes of the army, from the highest officer to the humblest in the ranks. In May, for a few days, in the absence of General Lytle, he commanded the brigade; but disease had fastened itself upon him. "I visited Col. Larrabee, yesterday," writes a Murfreesborough correspondent, May 21st; "he looks very much worn out." At length, wasted by disease contracted in the swamps of the Chickahominy, he yielded to the inevitable, and resigned, August 27th, 1863, retiring from his command greatly to his regret. Had not his health failed him, he was well adapted to military life, and well calculated to have risen, by his force of character and sterling merit, to the highest honors of the service.

On this occasion, Gen. P. H. Sheridan, commanding the division of which the Twenty-Fourth Wisconsin formed a part, wrote thus kindly to Col. Larrabee, under date Stevenson, Ala., Aug. 31st: "*Colonel*:—On retiring from the service, I desire to express to you, in some manner, my regard for your past services in connection with my division. Having had every opportunity to observe, it gives me great satisfaction to testify to the ability you have always displayed as a commander. Your conduct and bearing have always been that of an intelligent, brave and obedient officer; and I feel assured that whatever position you may hereafter be called upon to occupy, you will win for yourself the same credit to which, I am happy to say, you are justly entitled, for the valuable services you have, in your patriotism rendered the government while commanding a regiment in this division."

James Adair Grover, assistant adjutant-general, addressed to Col. Larrabee, Aug. 30th, in behalf of Gen. W. H. Lytle, the following official order: "*Colonel*:—I have the honor to forward the acceptance of your resignation to the headquarters of the

Army of the Cumberland. The general commanding directs me to express his profound regret that you are about to bid farewell to his command and the service. He desires me thus officially to bear testimony to your gallant and honorable record as an officer and a gentleman. He directs me to say, that since he assumed command of this brigade, he has found you uniformly active, zealous, and untiring in the discharge of your official duties.

"While for military considerations, he regrets your resignation, it is a matter of congratulation that the people and the counry are to have the benefit of your wide experience and distinguished ability. Carry with you, colonel, to your home, the high regard and best wishes of your comrades in arms."

In accepting Col. Larrabee's resignation, Henry M. Cist, assistant adjutant-general, by command of Major General Rosecrans, endorsed as a reason: "Physically suited to enter the Invalid Corps." "His military record," in the language of Tenney and Atwood, in their work on the *Fathers of Wisconsin*, "was equally brilliant and useful."

Though, not, perhaps, engaged in so many battles as some others, yet he was oftener in command of skirmishers, during the advance of the armies, than any officer of his corps, and always acquitted himself with the highest credit. Yet petty jealousies, even after his retirement from the service, did not cease their unworthy backbitings. The following letter from Gen. Rosecrans, if anything further were necessary, should forever put to shame these baseless misrepresentations:

San Francisco, Cal., Sept. 16, 1867.

My Dear Colonel:

I am annoyed to hear that calumny has had the audacity to whisper that you left the Army of the Cumberland in some kind of disgrace. No officer of his grade stood higher in my estimation for ability, courage or patriotism, than you did; when I became satisfied that the condition of your health, and other personal circumstances made known to me, imposed on me the *duty* of accepting your resignation. You are at liberty to use this letter as you please.

Sincerely trusting that no Union man has been mean enough to lend a hand in stabbing one of the country's noble supporters and soldiers,

I am Your Friend,

W. S. Rosecrans,

Bre't Maj.-Gen., U. S. A.

Col. Charles H. Larrabee.

In the Spring of 1864, Col. Larrabee migrated to California, accompanied by his daughter, stopping at San Jose. Visiting Virginia City, Nevada, he was attacked with his old army complaint, the diarrhœa; and finding he could not stand the climate, he returned to San Jose, and spent the summer on Gen. Naglee's ranch near that city; but in the early autumn he was attacked with erysipelas in the head, and barely survived. Thinking a higher latitude would prove more healthful, he removed to Salem, in Oregon, in October, and engaged in the practice of law with Hon. Lansing Stout, and was the next month joined by his wife and son.

He had some recurrences of his old army complaint. But his nature was restless, and he sought too frequent change of residence for his success. After awhile he returned to California, residing for some time at Los Angeles. His wife died in San Francisco, Aug. 7th, 1873. He subsequently located, with Beriah Brown, at Seattle in Washington Territory. Having been a framer of the Wisconsin constitution in 1847–48 thirty years later, in 1879, he was a member of a convention in Washington Territory to frame a constitution in anticipation of its admission as a State into the Union. But the people were not yet prepared for such a step, and did not adopt the constitution submitted to them. Col. Larrabee was chosen one of the five trustees, and the treasurer of the board, for organizing at Seattle a University for the Territory, which was favored with an endowment of public lands.

Col. Larrabee finally settled at San Bernardino, in Southern California, resuming the practice of his profession, and fitting up a lovely rural home, with a fine variety of tropical fruits. Returning from a visit to San Francisco, when near Los Angeles, Jan. 20th, 1883, the train making a brief stop on a summit it had just gained, being detached from the engine, started off on the down grade at a frightful speed, a distance of four miles, and then plunged down an embankment, killing and burning in the shattered cars some sixteen persons—among them Col. Larrabee. His melancholy and shocking death cast a gloom over his many friends in every part of the country. A son, daughter, and three grandchildren survive him.

In a characteristic letter written by Judge Larrabee, and published in *The Bench and Bar of Wisconsin,* he gave the following account of himself: "I had only an academic education at Granville and Springfield, Ohio. At the former, I was schoolmate of Lyman C. Draper. The best work I ever did for Wisconsin was to induce Draper to remove from Baltimore, and settle in the State. I procured the first appropriation by the legislature for a small salary for him as secretary of the Historical Society,[1] and took an active part in its reorganization with Wm. R. Smith and others. I first brought Draper to the attention of L. J. Farwell, then governor, who aided me substantially and cordially.

"I left the army broken down in health, and took a sea voyage as a last resort; came to the Pacific Coast, recovered health, and have never regretted the change for a moment. When I left the bench, my bar, in their resolutions, said I had been an industrious, capable and honest judge. I knew I had been industrious and

[1] This was at the session of 1855, and the salary provided was $500 a year. Messrs. S. L. Rose, A. H. Van Norstrand, L. B. Vilas, Chase A. Stevens, Wm. Hull, Alanson Filer, Thomas Falvey, W. R. Taylor, George Gary, Peter Rogan, J. H. Earnest, and Samuel Pratt were among the assemblymen who supported the measure. Beriah Brown was especially active in seconding Judge Larrabee's efforts, with the members of both houses, and the bill was passed.

At the next session, Judge Larrabee influenced others to agitate the subject of an increase of the secretary's salary to $1,000—among others, Judge T. O. Howe interested himself in the matter, as the following note from him to Judge Larrabee, shows:

MADISON, March 9, 1856.

Dear Sir:—Upon your suggestion, I spoke to several members of both houses touching an increase of Mr. Draper's pay. Every man, including Judge Rose and Mr. Hull, met the proposition very cordially. Rose said the Republicans were the most unwilling to pay him last winter. I accordingly drew up a memorial, procured many signatures, and obtained Senator David Taylor's pledge to attend to it. He presented it. It was referred to the committee on State affairs. Judge Dunn was absent—has not yet returned. Yesterday, I returned from Milwaukee, and found Taylor absent. As soon as a bill can be got from the committee, it will pass without much opposition.

"Yours truly,

"TIM. O. HOWE."

As Judge Howe indicated, there was no special opposition to the measure.

L. C. D.

honest, but doubted the other. The Lord has denied me any love of money whatever, so I am what they call a poor man. Being born in the army, I never had a particle of State pride. All States seem to me like so many counties. Nor have I love of locality. Cities I hate, I am happiest in building up new homes, introducing new fruits, and other light productions of the soil."

Judge Larrabee was essentially a pioneer—"the Western impulse," says *The Bench and Bar of Wisconsin*, "seems to have been the governing motive of his character." I remember when with him in northern Mississippi, in 1841, he had a strong desire to push on to the far-off country of Oregon, which he finally reached a quarter of a century later.

In his sketches of the judges of the first supreme court of Wisconsin, Mr. Pinney says, that Judge Larrabee filled the double position of circuit and supreme court judge, "in the most creditable and acceptable manner. He was prompt and impartial, and his written opinions bear favorable testimony to his learning and ability; he possesses more than ordinary natural ability;—is an impressive public speaker—his manners are free, affable and popular, and he is zealous as a partisan, and warm and devoted in his friendships."

"The public career of Mr. Larrabee," says Messrs. Tenney and Atwood, "both in Wisconsin and elsewhere, has ever been in the highest degree honorable and useful. He has proved himself a gifted statesman, an able and popular judge, and his military record was in all senses patriotic and noble. So long a career in various departments of public life is achieved by but very few, and the bare enumeration is in itself the highest eulogy that could be paid to his merits."

Judge Larrabee was ambitious, but honorable in all his aims and purposes. The positions to which he was elevated, he filled with credit and integrity. Had McClellan or Hancock, his personal and political friends, succeeded to the presidency, he would probably have received some fitting appointment. With more application, he would unquestionably have risen higher in the legal profession. His career was varied, active and useful; and he well deserves to be held in kind and grateful remembrance by the people of Wisconsin.

Pioneer Settlement of Sheboygan County

By John E. Thomas

Those who have traveled the road from Sheboygan Falls to Sheboygan, will remember the old mill-site at the foot of the hill before reaching the covered bridge, at the first rapids of Sheboygan River, about three miles from its mouth. The mill erected there was completed in 1834 or '35, and was built for Payne and Crocker. William Payne died a few years since, in Chicago; and Col. Oliver C. Crocker, long a resident of Binghamton, N. Y., revisited Sheboygan in the summer of 1879.

Crocker helped to score the timber for the mill; and, when erected, considerable lumber was cut there, and sold at the mill, and in Chicago. During the erection of the building, a laborer named Rudsill, a Vermonter, broke one of his legs; and as there was no surgeon nearer than Milwaukee or Chicago, Crocker set the limb, and the man recovered the use of it. This was probably the first surgery performed in the county.

Col. Crocker related an amusing instance of the manner in which justice was administered in an early day. He had sold lumber to a Chicago man on sixty days' time, and the debtor was very dilatory; and, in fact, neglected to pay as he had repeatedly agreed to. Col. Crocker finally got into an altercation with the delinquent, and in self-defense gave him a good thrashing. As soon as the job was done, the Colonel, fearing that he might suffer at the hands of some court away from home, upon the complaint of his adversary, at once repaired to the nearest Justice, whose name was Casey, and entered a complaint against himself. That judicial functionary asked Crocker to state the facts, and to say whether he had "licked" the other fellow, C. H. Chapman, thoroughly. Crocker replied that he had tried to do a good job, and rather thought he had succeeded. "Well," said Justice Casey, "I thought that I would fine you; but if you 'licked' him good,

I will treat;" and he did. No appeal was ever taken from this judgment.

The partnership agreement between Crocker and Payne was drawn by Judge Goodrich, still living in Chicago; and although many years have elapsed since that document was drawn up, yet during the present summer Judge Goodrich met his early client in that city, recognized him and invited him to dinner. Both readily admitted that Chicago had changed somewhat since 1834—a period of forty-five years.

Col. Crocker, when here, showed us the identical old wallet in which he carried his wealth and papers, when he came to what is now Sheboygan, then called Sheb-y-a-gun. He is now a thrifty farmer, and a prominent citizen, of Binghamton, N. Y., and his visit here was a source of pleasure to him, and a marked gratification to many of our citizens.

The following letter of introduction from the Indian agent at Chicago, was presented by Col. Crocker to the Chippewas at Sheboygan prior to his commencing work upon the mill:

To Wamixico, Te-She-Shing Ge-Bay,[1] and others of the Chippewa Tribe of Indians:

Your Great Father, the President of the United States, purchased of the Menomonees all the country in the neighborhood of Sheb-y-a-gun river. This purchase was made at Washington City five or six years since.

My children—I know you claimed this land, and told me that the Menomonees had no right to sell it, and you told us the same thing at the trade held last Fall at Chicago; and although your Great Father had bought it of the Menomonees, yet your Fathers, the Commissioners of the Chicago treaty, purchased your rights to it again last Fall.

My children—The bargain you made with the Commissioners of your Great Father, is not yet agreed to by the wise men of the East, but I am sure it soon will be.

My children—The white men who take this letter to you are good men; they do not want to meddle with your fields or your hunting grounds; all they want is to build a mill on Sheb-y-a-gun River.

My children—I hope you will not interrupt these men, as they will be

[1] Perhaps Chechebinquay, who, with Wamixico, signed the Chicago treaty, Sept. 26, 1833, of which Mr. Owen, the Indian agent, was one of the commissioners. L. C. D.

good friends to you; they will do none of you any harm. If any of you are dissatisfied, come and see me, and I will make all clear to you.

My children—You had better come and see me, if you are not satisfied with the talk I send you.

Your Father at Chicago,
T. J. V. Owen.

June 5th, 1834.

In Snyder, Van Vechten & Co.'s *Historical Atlas of Wisconsin*, it is added, that Payne and Crocker built a log cabin about half a mile below their mill, at the mouth of Follet Creek, which is still standing; and that when the Indians became aware of their preparations to build a dam, some four or five hundred of them, notwithstanding the conciliatory letter from their agent, assembled to protest against any such obstruction, as they regarded it, to fish ascending the river, and thus cutting off one of their important sources of livelihood; but after long and tedious negotiations, their consent was finally obtained, and the dam built, and the mill erected during the fall of 1834 and following winter and spring. But the mill, like the honey bee, is a sure precursor of the advent of the white man, and the gradual withdrawal of the Indian.[1]

Charles D. Cole, another early Sheboygan pioneer, was born in Schenectady, N. Y., Oct. 19, 1806. He migrated to Cleveland, Ohio, in 1830, taking charge of a line of canal boats plying between that place and Portsmouth, on the Ohio River. Of his coming to Wisconsin, and his early settlement in Sheboygan, he gave me the following narrative:

Leaving Cleveland in April, 1836, I landed from the steamer New York, at Green Bay, during that month. On our way up,

[1] Col. Crocker, after visiting, in the summer of 1879, the scenes of his early Wisconsin adventures, died suddenly at Chicago, on his return home, August 1, 1879. He was born in Union, Broome Co., N. Y., May 2, 1811. Coming to Chicago early in 1834, and thence to Sheboygan County, in Wisconsin, the same year, he appears to have returned to Chicago in 1835, and to Binghamton, N. Y., the latter part of 1836. He served in the New York legislature in 1847, and was more than once an unsuccessful candidate for Congress, as his party was in the minority in the district. He was a man of genial address, and excellent character and left a large estate to his descendants. L. C. D.

we got out of fuel. We had taken on board at Detroit, William Farnsworth. He owned mills at Menomonee, and the steamer put in there to get fuel. Farnsworth went on shore where he had a "coal-pit," which was ready to be fired; he had it torn down, and the wood taken on board by means of a flat-boat. We had no further trouble in reaching the settlement at the Bay.

Then I arranged with Farnsworth to go to Sheboygan, and embark in mercantile and forwarding business. I landed at Sheboygan in June, from the steamer "Michigan," Captain Pease, and remained two or three days for Farnsworth to come through by land from the Bay. Then I went to Milwaukee with him on horseback; and from there to Chicago on a schooner, to attend the land sales. There was unbounded excitement about real estate—everybody crazy. One old gentleman of African descent rode a horse through the town, ringing a bell, and crying: "Now is your time to make your fortune, now's your time." Everybody stopped at the Tremont, a frame building kept as a hotel. At meal times the rush was appalling: it exceeded the rush for the auctioneer's stand.

The proprietors of Sheboygan here offered their lots, and I purchased three, on the river, in company with Farnsworth and Brush, Reese & Co., under the firm name of C. D. Cole & Co. I then went to Green Bay and completed my business arrangements; and then returned to Cleveland for my family, and a stock of merchandise, consisting of dry-goods, groceries, etc. I reached Sheboygan with my family, and the stock of goods, in August following, coming up in brig "U. C. Baldwin," Captain Sweet. The trip consumed two weeks' time. All vessels and steamers then went to Green Bay before touching at Sheboygan. A. G. Dye and family had landed at Sheboygan a few days before from Chicago. Dye had been employed by me at Chicago to go to Sheboygan, and erect a warehouse and dock for Cole & Co. He brought with him Morris Firmin and family. Those two families were the first to settle at Sheboygan; and not mine, as stated by Hon. Horace Rublee, in 4th vol. *Wis. Hist Colls.* There were no framed houses finished. In the month of June preceding, Levi Conroe had arrived at Sheboygan with some workmen

to build a hotel for the proprietors of the town. The cooking and other household work for this "gang" of men, was done by one of their number.

There being no house for me to occupy with my family, I was obliged to provide a shelter for them as best I could. I went to work, and put up a small shanty by using slabs from the sawmill, which was not running at the time, for a roof; and "siding up" with boxes, barrels and blankets. We remained in this apology for a house about two weeks. By this time a portion of the hotel was finished, so that we could get into it; where we remained until the spring of 1837. When I had occasion to sell any of my merchandise, I opened the box containing the article called for, and after waiting upon my customer, I closed the box again.

The mail at this time was carried from Milwaukee to Green Bay twice each week, and I was the first postmaster at Sheboygan. and this was the only post-office in the county at that time. In the meantime, Dye had completed the warehouse and the dock was finished during the summer. Here we were with a warehouse. forty by sixty feet in size, two stories high, and a dock one hundred and sixty feet in length, built out into the water ten feet deep, all ready to receive the great rush of emigration which was looked for so confidently. As evidence of the substantial manner in which the dock was built, I may remark that it is still in good repair. In the spring of 1837, Dye had finished a frame dwelling for himself and family. During the fall of 1836, John D. Gibbs and family, B. L. Gibbs, and James H. Gibbs, brothers, arrived at Sheboygan; during the winter, and next spring they opened up farms at Gibbsville, and were the first settlers at the last-named place, which is eight miles from Sheboygan, on the Milwaukee road, and now in the town of Lima. William and Peter Palmer also began farms about the same time in the same neighborhood.

While I was getting settled, and was preparing for business, Farnsworth had gone to New York for a large stock of goods to supply his stores at Menomonee and Green Bay, and to replenish our stock at Sheboygan. These goods reached Green Bay late in the fall. I went there, and we divided the stock. I then started back overland and expected the sail vessel

with the goods in a few days; but, alas for human calculations! the vessel was frozen in near the head of the Bay, where she remained for three or four weeks. Her sails were taken off, and the voyage was given up for the season; but warm weather setting in again for a few days, the sails were spread, and she started once more. After reaching Lake Michigan, a severe storm arose, and she could not be anchored off Sheboygan. The inevitable result was, that the trip was continued to Chicago, and the vessel was laid up for the season with all our provisions, clothing, hardware, and other merchandise on board.

Our stock of provisions, in the meantime, had become nearly exhausted. We had divided a half barrel of crackers, some hard bread, and a small quantity of other provisions, between the families at Sheboygan, the "hands" at Farnsworth's mill, three miles up the river, and the settlers at the Falls, five miles higher up, where Col. Silas Stedman was building a mill, and had several men to work for him. It was now December, and things began to look desperate. Something had to be done. I finally took a yoke of oxen from Farnsworth's mill, and with a sled I started for Milwaukee after supplies. There was no road cut out at that time. Wm. Payne, who for a long time afterwards lived at Saukville, Ozaukee County, and from there removed to Chicago, had been through; but no road had been cut out.[1]

[1] Wm. Payne was born in or near London, Dec. 22d, 1806, and came to this country at the age of twenty, first settling at Buffalo, and then Chicago. In 1834, he was associated with Oliver C. Crocker in his early enterprise in effecting a settlement in what is now Sheboygan County, in that year. He built the first house and sawmill in all that region. The men and supplies for the work, were sent up on a small schooner from Chicago—probably landing at Milwaukee. They then traveled on ponies, carrying their provisions, and camping wherever night overtook them. How long Mr. Payne remained in Sheboygan, his widow cannot say—Hon. M. L. Martin conveys the idea that he sold his interest in his mill, and left, in 1835. A. J. Vieau thinks Mr. Payne sold his mill, and went to Milwaukee about 1839. At all events his widow relates, that he was there in the lumber business in 1843, and left in 1846, and started the village of Saukville, some twenty-five miles up the Milwaukee River, where he had a large tract of land, erected grist and sawmills and kept a store and tavern. In 1858, he sold out, and went to Chicago, engaging in the wood and coal business. His death occurred in that city, Nov. 1st, 1868, in his sixty-second year. He possessed the tact and enterprise that eminently fitted him for a pioneer. L. C. D.

The first day I went as far as Bark Creek, seven miles, and thought I had done well. I had with me Wm. Ashby, who now lives near Sheboygan, and several other "hands," whose names I have forgotten, from the mill. We were some six or seven days getting to Milwaukee, and we all remained there two days securing our outfit, and having our oxen shod.

Our purchases embraced corn, oats, flour, and some groceries. We traded with Solomon Juneau. The first night out of Milwaukee, on our return, we camped at Mud Creek. There was a house then at Good Hope, where we succeeded in getting a warm meal. So far our expedition had been a success; our provisions were secured, and we were on our way home rejoicing. We camped one night at or near the present village of Saukville. We had arranged for spending the night as comfortably as possible. While sleeping off our fatigue, we were aroused by the oxen; they had broken into our stock of provisions, and had filled themselves so full of corn that we were greatly alarmed for their safety, and at once yoked them up, attached them to the sled and started, hoping to save their lives by exercising them pretty briskly; but they had over-gorged, and one of them paid the penalty with his life.

The Indians were all about us, and they were also hungry for corn and flour. They took possession of our imprudent ox after his death, and after providing for saving the carcass, they carefully opened the entrails and took out all the corn which was undigested. This unexpected and disastrous onslaught upon our provisions by our oxen, had so diminished the bulk that we had but little difficulty in making the surviving ox haul it, which we compelled him to do the remainder of the distance. Our arrival at home was hailed with joy by all concerned. Of course this small stock of provisions could not last long; and I had been home but a few days before I started for Green Bay on horseback. I had some goods there yet, and after adding to what I had by additional purchases made there, I bought a horse team and sled, and started for home. On coming through, I found the hills so steep in many places that I had to detach the horses, and let my sled down by "snubbing" aroung a tree with a rope. A road

had been cut through by the combined efforts of the inhabitants at Sheboygan Falls and Manitowoc Rapids. Notwithstanding the bad roads, I got along very well until I reached the Pigeon River, four miles from Sheboygan, and then I broke through the ice, wet my sugar, and tested the colors in some of my dry goods.

I spent most of the winter going to Green Bay after provisions to supply the settlers at and near Sheboygan. In the spring, a large influx of emigrants was expected, and we all kept up our spirits by pleasant anticipations of future prosperity. The country back of us, at this time, with a few exceptions, was an unbroken wilderness. In the summer of 1837, in company with one or more companions each time, I made several trips to Milwaukee in a birch bark canoe; and, at that time, my "transportation company" was called "the Sheboygan express" by the Milwaukee settlers. We were often pinched for food, and at one time we dug up and ate the potatoes we had put in the ground for an increase; and at another, we cut the hoops and staves off a barrel of condemned flour that had mildewed and become hard, and was rolled under the warehouse to be out of the way; this flour we pounded up with a hatchet, and made it into bread, or something we called such.

These interesting reminiscences of a worthy pioneer will long be cherished by the people of Sheboygan. Mr. Cole continued to enjoy the fruit of his early and well-directed efforts for many years; and died at Sheboygan Falls, March 19th, 1867, in the sixty-first year of his age. He left behind him a good name, a worthy family, and many devoted friends.

Sheboygan Falls, July, 1879.

Morgan Lewis Martin

From a daguerreotype taken about 1852

Sketch of William Farnsworth[1]

By Morgan Lewis Martin

There was one victim to the terrible accident on Lake Michigan, whose loss should call forth more than a passing notice. When the writer of this article first came to the West, he found among the few Eastern adventures who had already preceded him, an active, energetic and persevering spirit in the person of William Farnsworth. He was at that period, engaged in the prosecution of the fur-trade, and resided in a place now known as Marinette, on the Menomonee River. The family name is highly respected, and well known, in northern New York and Vermont, and some of its numerous heritors with the Scotch-American disposition so characteristic of the locality in which they were born, had followed the track of the early Jesuits into the Western wilderness.

The subject of this sketch first came to Mackinaw and Green Bay nearly forty years ago as a clerk of the American Fur Company. Of a bold, enterprising and independent character, he chafed under the restraints which were held with an iron grasp by their agents, over all persons in their employ, and soon found himself at the head of an establishment in opposition to the regular clerk of the company. At that period, it was no easy task to undertake the prosecution of a trade with the native tribes of this

[1] This article originally appeared in the *Bay City Press*, of Green Bay, Sept. 22d, 1860. The disaster alluded to, in which William Farnsworth lost his life, was the sinking of the "Lady Elgin," Sept. 7, 1860. The *Evergreen City Times* stated that Mr. Farnsworth first visited Sheboygan, as early as 1814; was there a few months in 1818, as a trapper and Indian trader; and finally went there to reside in 1835; and, with the exception of three or four years' residence in Milwaukee, after the revulsion of 1837, he ever after continued to reside in Sheboygan. He was, at the time of his death, about sixty-five years of age; and when his remains were recovered, they were conveyed to Sheboygan, where they were interred with masonic and civil honors. References to him may be found in Col. Childs' "Recollections of Wisconsin," and Mr. Rublee's "Early Times in Sheboygan County," in vol. iv., *Wis. Hist. Colls.* L. C. D.

region, except with the countenance at least of the government agents, and the great fur company with John Jacob Astor and his immense wealth at its head, exercising almost despotic sway over them, as well as all others, in the region now known as the State of Wisconsin. Everybody was in their interest, and their influence with the Indian tribes was so powerful, that the man who undertook the hazardous task of thwarting their plans for profit, did so at the peril of his property, and even of his life.

But nothing daunted, Farnsworth secured his outfit of goods and provisions, for a winter supply, and planted himself alone in the heart of the Menomonee country. He had scarcely located and sheltered himself in a rude log cabin, when a large delegation of the head men of the tribe called to pay him a visit, and to warn him that he must quit their country without delay, or that his stores would be sacrificed, as their lawful prize, and resistance would cost him his life. There were fifteen or twenty of these stalwart sons of the forest seated around his cabin, when these threats were uttered, while he was attended by only a single man so terrified, that his assistance could not be relied on, if force alone were to decide the contest. In this dilemma, Farnsworth seized a keg of powder, placed it in the centre of the room, and fixed a stump of burning candle in the orifice at the top. He then addressed them in a calm but determined tone of voice, that he knew they were "braves"—that he also was a "brave" of the white men; and if his property and life must be sacrificed, they must all suffer the same fate; no truly *brave* man should ever fear death. Nothing further was said, but as the candle had nearly burned out, one after another of the Indians left the house in great haste, and the trader having got rid of his visitors, extinguished the lighted candle.

The sequel of the matter was, that he continued his trade through many winters unmolested, and his powder plot or scheme, by which the threats of the Indians were counteracted, and which convinced them of his fearless courage, and resolute determination to pursue his vocation, and stay among them as a trader, made a large portion of the tribe his devoted friends. The danger of his position, however, and the difficulties he had to encounter, con-

tinued for many years, for there was then no civil law by which rights could be enforced or wrongs redressed; but the establishment of our Territorial government, and the immediate influx of a large population, eventually destroyed the Indian trade, and Farnsworth with others, abandoned his old trading-post, emerged into civilized life, and engaged in other pursuits.

For the last twenty-five years he has been a resident of Sheboygan, having been one of the first proprietors and settlers at that place. The first lumbering establishment on Menomonee River was started under his auspices, as well as the first upon the Sheboygan River, and in all his plans of business, a strength of will and a determination of character were exhibited, which under most unpropitious circumstances, would ordinarily insure success. We have spoken of him only, as the fearless and enterprising pioneer; we can also bear our personal testimony to the cordiality of his friendship, and if his enmities were many and implacable, we account for them rather as the fruit of the constant and unscrupulous warfare always attendant upon rivalry in the prosecution of the fur-trade, than springing from natural bitterness of disposition, or a cold and selfish spirit. At his old home on the Menomonee, we have often, at an early day, partaken of his generous hospitality, and in later years have looked back with unalloyed pleasure upon many hours of social intercourse, without one unpleasant thought to embitter the recollection of his uniform kindness and liberality.

His course in life has been varied and interesting. He abandoned the pleasures of civilized society to brave the hardships and privations of the frontier; he staked without fear, life, fortune and hope in an unequal encounter with a powerful rival for pecuniary profit; he devoted a life-time to the slow progress which converts a wilderness to civilization, and when all his hopes were ripened into fruition, reposing in fancied security from harm, he fell a victim to dangers he had so often and habitually courted yet despised. When the lives and sacrifices of those adventurous spirits who penetrated and reclaimed the forests of Wisconsin, are recorded by the future historian, the name of William Farnsworth will be entitled to a prominent place.

M.

September, 1860.

In submitting the preceding sketch to Judge Martin, in 1879, for revision or addition, he returned it with the following remarks:

No one could have dictated the notice of Farnsworth but myself, as no other person answers the requisite description of having visited his old home at Menomonee at an early day, and partaken of his hospitality. I first went there with him in the fall of 1828, and staid some days; and again in 1829, with a party of officers from the Ft. Howard garrison, staying on a frolic three or four days. Again in the summer of 1830 or '31, he invited me to see the "raising" of his mill—the first one on the river, when I spent several days. In fact, I was the only intimate he had in those days, and the exploits referred to were received from his own lips. I learned more from these visits, than from any other source, of the methods of managing Indians, of the Indian trade, and of the unscrupulous manner in which opposition traders treated each other.

When Farnsworth first went to Sheboygan in 1834 or '35, Payne was there, and had "squatted" upon a mill site near Sheboygan Falls, and had commenced the erection of a mill. A party consisting of Farnsworth and others, of whom I was one, bought him out, and completed and run the mill. At the first land sale in 1835, we could not secure a pre-emption, not having been there and improved the property in June, 1834, as the law required. The land was that fall purchased by me at public sale, no one bidding against me as an actual occupant of the land.

Payne left there for Milwaukee after selling, and I don't know what afterwards became of him. He was never an Indian trader in the true sense of the term; but probably had a small quantity of goods with which to conciliate the Indians, when he came and sat down on his claim, and to supply his employees. There was no white man at Sheboygan, when I was there in July, 1833, on my return from Milwaukee.

Sketch of Moses Hardwick

By Morgan Lewis Martin

A detachment of troops commanded by Col. John Miller, 3d U. S. Infantry, as related in Grignon's "Recollections," arrived at Green Bay on the 16th day of July, 1816, and among them was the subject of this brief sketch.

Moses Hardwick was born at Richmond, Ky., Oct. 2, 1791. He early enlisted in the service of his country, participating in the War of 1812, having been stationed awhile at Sacket's Harbor, N. Y., and received a pension during the latter portion of his life. After his discharge from the army in 1817, still in the prime and vigor of early manhood, he determined to remain at Green Bay as a permanent settler, with many others whose terms of enlistment expired. Of such as became respected citizens of the Territory on leaving the army were Charles Chapman, Col. Samual Ryan, and others, whose descendants are now resident among us.

After his discharge, Hardwick was employed for several years as a mail-carrier. There were no accessible military posts or post-offices west of Detroit, except at Fort Wayne and Chicago, from one of which the mail for Fort Howard was received during the season when lake navigation was closed. Usually from December 1st till the following April, monthly trips were made on foot to one of those posts, by carriers employed by the quartermaster at the fort. It was a service which few could perform, requiring powers of endurance and strength, with which men are rarely endowed. The depth of snow was such as to require the use of *snow-shoes,* and to give no opportunity for providing a comfortable camp for the night.

The person engaged in this service was obliged to keep on his feet day and night, until overcome by fatigue and want of sleep, when, rest becoming an absolute necessity, he wrapped himself in his blanket, lay down in a snow bank, and took the needed repose; after which he continued the same routine of tramping and

rest until his destination was reached. The severity of the trial of strength seems almost incredible, for in addition to the mail-bag, weighing usually from fifty to sixty pounds, the carrier had the necessary supply of provisions to pack on his back. There were two or three other men engaged in this arduous service; but none, it is believed, suffered greater hardships than Hardwick, and yet, after nearly seventeen years[1] of this severe and continued labor, exposed to all changes of weather, he lived to the remarkable age of eighty-eight years.

Of the Americans who came to the country on its first occupation by the authorities of our government in 1816, perhaps none more readily became "at home," and conformed to the mode of life common to the native French and mixed blood than Hardwick. These natives were a peculiar people, with few vices, improvident like their Indian neighbors, spending much of their time in social gatherings, racing upon the ice, and other amusements. There was, it is said, in 1817, a series of theatrical entertainments at the house of Col. Ducharme, who resided at "Shantytown," near "Camp Smith," then occupied by the troops.

[1] Of this period he carried the mail seven consecutive winters commencing in 1817. Mrs. Bella French, in her *History of Brown County*, relates some interesting particulars of a trip he made from Green Bay to Detroit, in 1821. He camped one night where Michigan City, Indiana, now is, using his bag of provisions for a pillow. He dreamed during the night that he was rolling down hill, and, awaking suddenly, found that a large black wolf was making off with his bag of supplies. He shot the wolf and regained his important store of provisions. The Green Bay *Advocate* says it was a large black bear that committed this depredation, and that, sending a bullet through him for his temerity, Hardwick sold his pelt for seven dollars to a trader. He had permission to remain in Detroit until the opening of the lakes; but, after he had been there a short time, he began to pine for a look at a Green Bay girl, whose heart beat responsive to his own, and he made up his mind to return on foot. So, back through the deep snow and trackless wilderness, he trudged all the weary way from Detroit to Green Bay—a distance of nearly five hundred miles—just for a look at the "girl he left behind him." The girl became his wife—how could she help it after such a manifestation of devotion?

The Green Bay *Advocate* adds, that in some of these trips, he would go by way of Fond du Lac, and sometimes by Manitowoc, according to the depth of the snow. L. C. D.

Nothing delighted these natives more than to play practical jokes upon each other. A horse would be missing from the owner's stable, although the door was doubly secured by bolt and lock, and he would spend perhaps days in scouring the country to find the lost animal; and after the fruitless search was abandoned, it would be found secreted, or put to use by a mischievous neighbor. Hardwick was not slow to enter into these so-called amusements with spirit; but it is a memorable fact, that they never were of more serious consequence than a fisticuff, or a laugh at the expense of the victim. The days of revolvers and *knuckles* had not yet arrived.

The very gratifying enjoyment of playing a trick was one indulged in by Hardwick in this wise: He was employed to carry the mail on the route between Green Bay and Milwaukee, when established in 1833. It was customary for the French people to turn their ponies loose in the spring, and allow them to roam at will during the summer months. Hardwick started out with the mail on his back to make his weekly trip, and returned in the same manner, making good time, and never failing in the regularity of his arrival at the appointed time. There was much astonishment expressed, that he had never failed during the season, and always came in at the hour, fresh and free from fatigue.

In the fall of the year, when the owners began to gather in their animals for winter use, one of them discovered that his best horse, instead of profiting by the summer vacation of rest and abundant feed, had become worn down by continued and severe work. It took not long to discover, as was the fact, that Hardwick's weekly trips had been made easily by the use of this jaded animal. He had been pressed into service so continually that he was reduced to a mere skeleton. The owner applied to one of the Green Bay lawyers, who advised him to go before the grand jury at the next term of court, and enter complaint against the offender for *stealing* his horse, and Hardwick was accordingly indicted for the offense. It is quite unnecessary to add, that his honor, the judge, did not agree with the jury in finding a charge of *larceny,* and the defendant escaped punishment for his free use of his neighbor's property. This occurrence was but one of the many

of like character recurring among the early residents of the country, and which constituted the bulk of *criminal* offenses prosecuted in the courts. If, perchance, the trespass upon a neighbor's rights sometimes resulted in more serious consequences, it was generally attributable to accident rather than design.

In 1824, Hardwick married Miss Angelina Chevallier, daughter of an old French resident, the offspring of which marriage were four children. Losing his wife in 1832, the season of cholera, he formed a marriage union, in March, 1835, with Miss Charlotte Laroque, who survives him. Ten children were born of the second marriage, of whom eight are now living, and have families in this and adjoining counties. He died at his residence in the town of Scott, Brown County, August 14, 1879. He was never addicted to bad habits; and though not a man of wealth, was always in comfortable circumstances, by which he was enabled to properly rear and educate his numerous children. His name will survive many decades in the large progeny springing from the parent stock.

An interview with Hardwick, eight or ten years ago, in reference to early events in the settlement of Green Bay, revealed the fact that his memory had already been impaired by age, and that he was unable to give more than a relation of minor incidents in his individual career, of little importance in writing his eventful experiences of sixty-three years in Wisconsin. The photograph in the cabinet of your Society was taken at that time.

Memoir of Henry D. Barron

By Samuel Stillman Fifield

Henry Danforth Barron, judge of the eleventh judicial circuit, died at his home in Saint Croix Falls, Polk County, Wisconsin, on Sunday, January 22d, 1882.

He was born at Wilton, Saratoga County, New York, April 10, 1833, and hence was forty-eight years, nine months and thirteen days old, when he departed this life.

He began life a poor self-dependent boy, and not having the means with which to acquire anything better than a common school education; and having a taste for books and a natural thirst for knowledge, he early in his boyhood apprenticed himself to and learned the printer's trade, in the office of the *Temperance Chief*, published by the then celebrated Thurlow Weed Brown, at Albany, New York. During his life as an apprentice, he studied hard, and soon found a warm friend in Mr. Brown and his sister, Emma Brown, who, seeing in the boy the making of a man of more than ordinary ability, took a warm interest in his welfare, and rendered him such assistance as in after life served him well, for by them was the foundation laid upon which he could build a brilliant career, if he so willed. The three years spent in the printing office fitted him for more advanced schooling; and having chosen law as his future profession, he entered the law school at Ballston Spa, N. Y., and graduated there, earning his way by extra labor performed at such times as he could obtain, by working at his trade.

The Western fever prevailing, he managed to collect together money enough to bring him to Wisconsin in 1851, and he immediately chose Waukesha, then a small, but thrifty village, as the place in which to begin life. Soon making valuable acquaintances and friends, he entered upon the labors of a journalist, taking the editorship of the Waukesha *Democrat*, the name of which he immediately changed to that of *Chronotype*, and which

attained, under his management, a place in the front rank of the weekly press of the State. The Democratic party at this time was progressive, and soon after he commenced his editorial labors he became an able advocate of its principles, and gained a more than local reputation as a leader of prominence in his party.

His influence was such that he was appointed postmaster of Waukesha by President Pierce, and continued the publication of his paper there until 1857, when the excitement over the rapid settlement of the Upper Mississippi Valley attracting his attention, with a view of bettering his condition financially, he removed to Dunn County and settled at Pepin (now in Pepin County), and entered upon the practice of law, forming a partnership with Col. Ben. Allen, a man since prominent as a lawyer and soldier. Here he remained during the financial crash and consequent "hard times" of that and the following two years, and until 1860, when he was appointed by Governor Randall, Circuit Judge of the eighth judicial circuit, then comprising the counties of La Pointe, Burnett, Buffalo, Dallas, Douglas, Dunn, Eau Claire, Polk, Pepin, Pierce, St. Croix, and Chippewa, to fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of Judge S. S. N. Fuller, whose term he finished in a satisfactory manner.

Receiving an offer from Hon. Caleb Cushing of the position of resident agent for the St. Croix Falls Manufacturing and Improvement Company, he removed to St. Croix Falls in September, 1861, and immediately assumed its duties.

Meanwhile the great Rebellion had paralyzed the business interests of the country. The various political factions had taken, position for or against the Union. Men of patriotism everywhere rushed to the Union standard. Notwithstanding Judge Barron had been one of the standard bearers as presidential elector on Breckenridge ticket during the canvass of 1860, he immediately joined the "war party," and gave his most cordial and hearty support to the administration of President Lincoln.

He was immediately tendered a commission as colonel of the Eighth Wisconsin Volunteers by Governor Randall, but owing to defective eye-sight and other causes which he could not overcome, he declined, but was active in the enlistment of men, and the enactment of measures for the defense of national honor.

In 1862 he was unanimously chosen a member of the assembly for the district comprising the counties of Ashland, Barron, Bayfield, Burnett, Douglas, and Polk; and in the discharge of his duties, he soon became a prominent leader in that body, and in the Republican party of the State. He was re-elected to the assembly in 1863, and again in 1865, 1866, 1867 and 1868.

In April, 1869, he was appointed fifth auditor in the United States treasury by President Grant, and served until November, 1871, when he was again elected to the assembly by the people of his district, and resigned his position at Washington to serve them. He was re-elected in 1872, and in the fall of 1873 was chosen State senator for the 24th senatorial district, serving a full term. He was re-elected senator in 1875, but having been elected judge of the eleventh judicial circuit in April, 1876, he tendered his senatorial resignation, and entered upon the discharge of his judicial duties.

During his legislative service, he held many important and honorable positions. He was speaker of the assembly in 1866, and again during the session of 1873. He was chairman of the judiciary committee several sessions in both the senate and assembly, and was president *pro tem* of the senate during the session of 1875. In 1868 he was one of the presidential electors at large on the Republican national ticket, and again in 1872, and chosen president of the electoral college. In 1863, he was elected by joint ballot of the legislature, a regent of the Wisconsin State University, which position he held until 1876. He was for many years a corresponding member of the State Historical Society, of which he was a friend and patron; and from January, 1869, till his death, he served as one of its vice-presidents. He was nominated by President Grant, Chief Justice of Dakota Territory in March, 1869, but not wishing to leave Wisconsin, he declined the honor. He was appointed trustee for Wisconsin of the Antietam Cemetery, by Governor Fairchild in 1871, and represented the State during its organization, and until it was placed in charge of the national government.

At home, he was a prominent citizen and took an active interest in the local affairs of his town and county, and many of the

organized business interests and public measures adopted to promote the welfare of both, originated with him, or received his active support and protecting care.

He held several local offices of trust, chief among them the office of county superintendent of schools, and district attorney, and was foremost in shaping local legislation for the protection and aid of the pioneer settlers of his section of the State.

Thus we have sketched the outline of twenty years of active official life and public service, the details of which would fill many volumes.

To no man do the people of Northwestern Wisconsin owe more for their present prosperity and prominence in the State, than to Judge Barron.

He was a man of indomitable energy, clear perception, and strict integrity. He was magnetic in his influence with his associates, warm and abiding in his friendships, and true to his constituents at all times, and under all circumstances. In his capacity as a legislator, he never forgot the fact that he represented the pioneers of the "New Wisconsin," the hard-working "homesteader," and the hardy lumberman, rather than the more wealthy class. The statute books contain many laws framed by him, designed to aid the new settlers of the State, and to encourage industries, and provide the proper facilities for the people to maintain themselves until the growth and advancement of the country was such as to make them self-sustaining. The legislation in aid of our pioneer railroads received his cordial support and active influence, both at the State capital and at Washington, and much of their success is due to him. His efforts in the legislature in behalf of the State University, the State Historical Society, and all measures of popular education, were unceasing and effective. In fact, few men in his time, wielded a wider influence in the affairs of State than he, both as a law-maker and politician.

That such a man as he should have hosts of admirers wherever known, is quite natural. He won friends everywhere, and his knowledge of human nature and character was such, that he knew them most thoroughly. And like all men of ability, possessing traits that make them popular with the people, he also incurred

the enmity and jealousy of many. Hence, he had his enemies, who followed him through life, but in no instance do we know a single case where he sought or harbored revenge. He was forgiving in his nature, and this trait in his character was one that made him, on the bench, a just and upright judge, and sometimes caused him to decide in a spirit of what he believed to be strict justice rather than by the "letter of the law."

That he had his faults, we know full well. That though strong, yet was he weak; but the good in him predominated, and caused his friends to cling to him through good and evil report. So we, as his friend of over twenty years, knowing his life, his personal affairs, his triumphs and his trials, feel that it is right to speak of his virtues, and over his faults draw down the broad mantle of charity, and bury them with him in the grave. The history of his life is closely interwoven with the history of his locality and his State. It will ever remain as a record that he was a useful and honored citizen—a warm hearted, faithful friend of the people.

His remains were taken to his old Waukesha home for interment, and his funeral was largely attended by prominent citizens of the State, and members of the bar. His last resting place is in a beautiful grove of evergreen, located in a corner of Waukesha's beautiful "city of the dead." He rests by the side of his first wife, and where, with almost his last breath, he requested to be laid beneath the sod.

The funeral was a most solemn and impressive one. The elements combined to make it so, as it was conducted during a severe thunder shower, and a gale of wind, that piped a dirge through the pines and firs that line the avenues of the cemetery. It was a fitting close to a stormy, fitful life. As the funeral cortege left the grounds, the storm cleared away, and the bright sun broke through the drifting clouds, brightening the earth, and giving token of peace and pleasant rest to the dead.

Sketch of Chauncey H. Purple

By Samuel D. Hastings

Mr. Purple was born in Weedsport, Cayuga County, N. Y., in the year 1820. For several years while a resident of that place, he was engaged in mercantile pursuits. In 1844 he came to Wisconsin, and first settled at Waukesha, then Prairieville, where he opened a dry-goods store, which he conducted successfully for a number of years. During his residence in Waukesha, he was elected to the legislature of 1854, of which body he was an active and useful member.

In 1858, he was invited to Madison to take the position of bank clerk in the office of the State treasury, then under the charge of the writer. He held the position for a few months only, when he was appointed to the position of assistant State treasurer, which office he held for about ten years, nearly eight years under the administration of the writer, and two years under that of the Hon. William E. Smith.

Upon retiring from this long and faithful service, Mr. Purple removed to Watertown, and engaged in the lumber trade. He worked hard and faithfully to build up an extensive business; and would, without doubt, have succeeded, had it not been for the panic of 1873, which deranged all his plans, as it did those of many others. He continued, however, to struggle on, and was fast regaining a substantial foothold when he was called away.

His death was sudden and unexpected, occasioned by neuralgia of the heart. It occurred on the 13th of December, 1879, at the age of fifty-nine.

For some time previous to his death, he was unusually well, and in most excellent spirits. He had, on one or two occasions, within a week or two of his death, complained of slight pains in

his chest; but with this exception, he had no premonition of the change that was so near.

Mr. Purple was a man beloved and respected by all who knew him; and in Waukesha, in Watertown, and in this city, there are many who deeply mourn his loss. As assistant State treasurer, during the nearly ten years he held the position—a much longer period than it was ever held by any other person—he proved a most competent and faithful officer. Never absent from his post, always cheerful and obliging, with a pleasant word for every one, he discharged his duties in a manner entirely to the satisfaction of the head of the department, and with great acceptance to those who had occasion to do business at the office.

During the nearly eight years he was assistant treasurer, while the office was under my charge, although compelled frequently to be absent from the city—on one occasion for several months, while suffering from inflammation of my eyes—I never had a moment's uneasiness lest the affairs of the office would not be properly attended to, or the funds of the State safely guarded, feeling that my interests and the interests of the State were perfectly safe in the hands of a man so faithful, so upright, so competent, and so conscientious, as I knew Mr. Purple to be.

He was a good and true man in all the relations of life. As a citizen, he was faithful in the discharge of every duty that devolved upon him, always ready to bear his full share of the burdens of citizenship. His influence was always in favor of everything that would promote the welfare of the community, and always against whatever would have a contrary tendency. He was always an active worker in the temperance cause. My first acquaintance with him was in the grand division of the Sons of Temperance, where I also met for the first time, the late Hon. Geo. B. Smith and Hon. Geo. Hyer. During the ten years he resided in this city, he was active in the cause in connection with the Good Templars and the Band of Hope. He was a regular attendant upon the Congregational church, and the most of the time was connected with the Sunday school of that organization. While in Watertown, he was actively engaged in the temperance cause, in connection with the Temple of Honor, being a charter

member of the Rescue Temple of that city. He was elected by the Grand Temple, general superintendent of the juvenile branch of the order, and while holding that position prepared the ritual for the juvenile temples.

Mr. Purple was twice married. He left a wife and eight children, three sons, and five daughters; the eldest of the latter, Mrs. D. Lloyd Jones, of Stevens Point, was the daughter of his first wife, to whom he was married in Weedsport, N. Y. in 1844. After her death, he was again married, in 1850, to Mary C. Patterson, by whom he had the other children. The second daughter is Mrs. B. F. Hazeltin, of Bradford, Pa.; the younger daughters, Sarah, May, and Hattie, reside with their mother at Watertown. The sons are Charles D. and Frank E. Purple, of Bradford, Pa., and William C. Purple of Black Hawk, Colorado.

As a husband and father, he was kind, loving and faithful. No one could be more beloved by his family than he was. As a friend, he was pleasant, genial, true, and always reliable. He was emphatically a good and true man in all the relations of life.

William Hull and Satterlee Clark

By Elias A. Calkins

William Hull

Hon. Wm. Hull died at his home in La Crosse, on the 15th of September, 1881. The La Crosse *Chronicle* says: "He was born on a plantation, near New Orleans, La., about the year 1815. His father was a gentleman of means, high social standing, and was able to give his son the advantages of a most excellent education, not only classical, but military as well. William Hull graduated at a military school, was commissioned lieutenant when quite young, and fought through the Seminole War in Florida, in 1837. On his return, he entered the law office of Judah P. Benjamin, but shortly after had to leave his native State forever, having unfortunately killed a young gentleman, whom he accused of having killed his brother in a duel, in an unfair manner. This unfortunate occurrence changed the whole career of Mr. Hull, and he never dared to return to his home again. He came to Wisconsin, then a Territory, in 1838, and having become acquainted with Jeff. Davis, during the war in Florida, he visited him at Fort Crawford, Prairie du Chien, where Davis was stationed, under Gen. Taylor, and there entered the service of the United States. Whilst at Fort Crawford, he was sent by Davis to Fort Snelling, and on his return from the Upper Mississippi, he camped on the site where La Crosse now stands. This was in 1838.

"Having resigned his military position, he moved to, and settled in Potosi, Grant County, Wisconsin, which at that time attracted the attention of miners and smelters to its rich and remunerative lead mines. For many years he engaged in mining and in the practice of law, and was considered quite wealthy, and he wielded quite a great political influence in his county. When he first came to Wisconsin, he was a Henry Clay Whig, but having become acquainted with Governor Henry Dodge, of Wisconsin, and being befriended by him, Mr. Hull conceived such a warm friendship and attachment for the old hero, that he became the leader

of a political faction known as the 'Dodge Whigs,' and supported Henry Dodge against James D. Doty. Finally he joined the Democratic camp, and during the session of 1851, under Governor Dewey, he was elected chief clerk of the senate. Grant County being at that time a Democratic county, Mr. Hull was elected a representative to the legislature in 1854, 1855 and 1856. In 1856 he was elected speaker of the house, and took a very active part in the contest then raging between Governors Barstow and Bashford.

"At the close of his speakership, Mr. Hull retired from official life, and having removed to La Crosse in 1858, he resided there ever after, devoting his time to the practice of law, making a specialty of maritime cases.

"Mr. Hull was married twice. His first wife died, and he was divorced from his second wife (a daughter of the late Peter G. Jones), who lives at Grand Rapids, Michigan, and is the wife of Hon. I. E. Messmore, formerly of this city. He leaves a son by his second wife, William Hull, Jr., who is a young man of great promise."

To the above may be added that, from 1852 to 1856, including the latter year, Mr. Hull was one of the most conspicuous men in the State. He was a nervous, busy, spirited gentleman, easily unbalanced; but frank, generous, and as ready to atone for an insult which he had given, as to resent one which he had received. In 1854, when Fred. Horn was speaker of the assembly, he was speaker *pro tem,* the usage then being to elect that officer for the entire session, and he drew double pay, the same as speaker, and took the chair without notice at any time in case of the speaker's absence. It was during this session that a tremendous fight arose over a joint resolution requesting Congress to pass a pending land grant bill, in favor of the Rock River Valley Railroad Co., of which A. Hyatt Smith and John B. Macy were the proprietors. There was great opposition arising to land grants, and the stage of business was such, that the resolution which it was desired to pass, could not be easily reached. Soon after the opening of the morning session, on the day when the railroad men had determined to take action, Mr. Hull arose in an off-

hand, yet portentous, way, and moved that the rules be suspended on a joint resolution to Congress for a mail route, which was in some stage on the files, and no objection was made to the motion. Mr. Hull then pulled from his pocket a formidable land grant resolution, which he offered as a substitute for the mail route document, and one of the liveliest fights opened ever seen in the legislature. The resolution finally passed, but it was emasculated by amendments which made it of no account; and it would probably have fared much better if introduced with a frank statement that it was an urgent case, and should be passed that day, or not at all. The tricks of legislation by which the subject was brought before the assembly defeated the very object sought to be attained.

Mr. Hull became desperately in love with Maggie, the beautiful young daughter of the late Peter G. Jones, then, in 1855, a resident of Madison. He was an impatient and impetuous wooer, and made his proposal of marriage at a festive social gathering at the old Capital House, proposing if accepted, that Judge Cole should be immediately summoned to perform the nuptial ceremony. But his turbulence frightened the handsome object of his passion, and she refused again and again. She at length yielded, however, to his importunities and zeal, and the wedding took place; but marital happiness was impossible, and a divorce followed after a few months, or possibly a year. The divorced wife then married Col. I. E. Messmore, and has lived an ordinary comfortable life, residing now at Grand Rapids, Mich.

In 1856 Mr. Hull was elected speaker of the assembly, and he was a very excellent presiding officer. He was a fierce partisan, and supported with vehemence and zeal the claims of Gov. Barstow to the executive office against Bashford. He proclaimed the most extreme doctrine of resistance to the adjudication of the supreme court, and was ready to stop the wheels of government if Barstow should be disturbed. But he and his followers contented themselves with a protest, which they entered on the *Assembly Journal*, and there the proposed revolution in the interests of Gov. Barstow ceased.

The congressional land grant to the Rock River Valley Union

Railroad had been defeated in 1854; but in 1856 Congress made a most generous grant to the State, to be donated by the legislature to such railroads as should be selected. An extra session was held in the fall of the year to dispose of this grant, when the wholesale bribery of the governor and legislature by the late Byron Kilbourn occurred. For some reason, Speaker Hull was not approached at such a time, or in such a way, as he supposed his position required, and he was intensely indignant. He stormed through the corridors of the old capitol, swinging over his head a paper which he said was a list of the members bribed, and a crowd hostile to the proposed scheme to dispose of the grant followed him around to get the names. Notably Major H. A. Tenney urged that the list be given to him. But there was a method in his madness; and the tempestuous scene soon subsided. He finally voted with the Kilbourn crowd, and when the following year, investigation came, he was found to have been among the largest beneficiaries in the distribution of the "corruption bonds" as they were called.

Mr. Hull was an acquaintance in his youth of the late Sergeant S. Prentiss, the famous Mississippi orator, and was fond of describing scenes in which he figured, and reciting snatches of his wonderful eloquence. He used to relate, with intense spirit, a scene where Prentiss had been very lucky at the gambling table, and as the two emerged from the room, the night being brilliant with star-light, Prentiss said: "Why, Mr. Hull, what luck I have had. I believe, sir," looking upward at the spangled sky, "that, had I been playing with the Almighty, star for star, I should have won them all, and left the world in darkness before morning."

Mr. Hull was a most generous man, faithful in friendship, frank, ardent and full of kindly sentiments. On removing to La Crosse, in 1858, he became attorney for the packet lines on the Mississippi, and rarely appeared in any public capacity outside of his profession. He was a delegate two or three times in Democratic State conventions, notably in that held in this city in 1872, to ratify the choice of Horace Greeley as a candidate for the presidency. He was, though ultra-Southern in his views, a great admirer of Mr. Greeley, and was enthusiastic in his support.

Satterlee Clark

The death of Satterlee Clark, a man of still greater local note than Mr. Hull, and quite as marked in his personal peculiarities, occurred suddenly at Minneapolis, on September 20th, 1881. He had been at that city during the day, and had been in the ticket office, at the St. Paul depot, in the afternoon, where he had complained of nausea and other slight indications of illness. About six o'clock he was again at the depot, and after some talk with the railway officials, started to take a street-car for his hotel, when he fell on the platform, and almost immediately expired. His death was caused by apoplexy, of which he had for some time past feared the approach. He was a man of great physical power, and of abstemious habits, but had a short and thick neck, and was predisposed to that disease.

Mr. Clark was born in Washington city in 1816. He came to Wisconsin in 1828, and settled at Green Bay, removing afterwards to Fort Winnebago, where he served as a sutler in the army, a position he held till 1843. In 1849 he was elected to the assembly from Marquette County. About 1855 he removed to Horicon, Dodge County, where he resided up to the time of his death. In 1861, he was elected to the senate from Dodge County, and served in that body ten years, being subsequently elected for one term to the assembly. He was in every Democratic State convention from the organization of the State, was in 1852 a presidential elector, assisting to cast the vote of the State for Pierce and King; and in 1868 he was a delegate to the Democratic national convention. For a year past he has been in the employ of the St. Paul Railway Company, in the car department, or as "car detective," his business being to trace the cars of the company on other lines, and secure their return.

Mr. Clark had probably a more extended personal acquaintance than any man in the State. He had grown up among its people, and being habitually, almost constantly, on the move to different parts of the State, he knew almost everybody, and his genial and hearty manners rendered him personally very popular. He was a radical Democrat, and during the war and afterwards, frequently

indulged in extreme and often offensive expressions of sympathy for the South. While such was the fact, he was not esteemed as altogether disloyal or unpatriotic, as his language was regarded as more for the purpose of attracting notoriety than for any other object, and entirely to lack the elements of sincerity and malignity.[1] In fact, he was always very popular with Republicans, and was feared and denounced most zealously as a politician by his Democratic allies, upon whose loyalty and patriotism he brought almost constant reproach. He had an enormous capacity in personal narrative and reminiscences, and was profuse in anecdotes of his personal strength and prowess, of his pioneer adventures, of his collisions with noted men, and of remarkable events in his career. It was often more than suspected that he greatly exaggerated the facts, or created them entirely, but he incurred no ill-will from this cause; in fact he was so absolutely without malice, so genial and unselfish, always so ready to help others, and his public spirit and universal goodwill withal, were so manifest, that he had no enemies, and was the object of general respect and friendship. His good qualities outweighed his bad, and in his death all will say that the State has lost a good and useful citizen.

I will close my sketch with an interesting anecdote related by Mark M. Pomeroy, which serves to illustrate some of the favorable traits of Mr. Clark's character:

One of the best known men in Wisconsin, is the Hon. Satterlee Clark, who for fifty years has been a citizen of Wisconsin, and for several years a resident of Horicon, Dodge County, which district he has several times represented in the State senate. Mr. Clark came out West more than half a century ago from Washington, and is probably the best posted of all the citizens of Wisconsin concerning its past and present history. A man of generous

[1] When Gov. Harvey lost his life, Senator Clark introduced a bill for the payment of the salary for the full term for which he was elected, to his widow, which accordingly passed; and while professing to be opposed to the war, he yet contended that "the boys" in the army must be cared for, and generally voted for the war measures of the period. L. C. D.

impulses, strong in his likes and dislikes, a quick observer of men and things, ready in speech, and powerful in argument, he has made for himself many enemies, and thousands of excellent friends. With a very retentive memory, he holds the history of the State almost in his grasp, and as he is so thoroughly identified with it, he possesses a fund of anecdote and information, which, could the same be brought out in book-form, and published, would add to the valuable historical literature of the West.

Be it known also, that Mr. Clark—Sat. Clark, as men call him—is a thorough Democrat, so wedded to the old ideas of the party, so imbued with the principle of Democracy, and so thoroughly impregnated with a dislike for everything in opposition thereto, that in standing up to the principle, he almost leans over backwards. During the war, when cowards closed their mouths, or turned their coats for office, Sat. Clark never backed down an inch, nor receded from a position at any time, or under any circumstances. So it is, he came to be known as the chief among "copperheads," and one, if not altogether lovely, as a hard customer for any person to attack, either mentally or physically, standing as he does in good proportions, in full strength and integrity as a man. In view of his excessive Democracy, the following incident is the more enjoyable:

On the occasion of the visit of President Hayes to the West, in the autumn of 1878, he was invited by the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society to visit the State fair at Madison, as the guest of the society, and ex-Senator Sat. Clark was selected to represent the society on the committee to meet the presidential party at Portage City, and escort them to Madison.

Mr. Clark was introduced to Mrs. Hayes as a Democrat who had resided in Wisconsin nearly fifty years.

He was invited to take a seat by Mrs. Hayes, who remarked, "You do not look like a Democrat." To which Sat. replied:

"I am sorry to hear you say that. Don't I look like an honest man?"

"Oh, yes," Mrs. Hayes responded, "but we may differ as to how a Democrat ought to look."

Sat. then said, "Mrs. Hayes, allow me to relate an anecdote.

I once had a neighbor who was a very religious man, so much so that he leaned over back. He once took a load of produce to the Pinery, which he sold, bought a load of lumber, and started for home. On the way, he staid over night at a country tavern, where he got to playing cards, drinking whisky, and using profane language.

"It so happened, that the circuit preacher came that way, and also staid over night at the same house. He sat behind one of his flock some time, and saw him drinking and playing cards, and heard him swearing, till, getting out of patience, he tapped him on the shoulder, and said, "Brother, what has become of your religion?"

"To which he replied:

" 'I left it the other side of Fox River, and will get it as I go home tomorrow.' "

"Now, Mrs. Hayes," said Sat., "I am a Democrat and when I was appointed on this committee, I reflected that my politics, though my honest convictions, and very dear to me, must be obnoxious to you and your husband; that it would be discourteous for me to impose my political opinions on you. I, therefore, locked my politics up in the safe, where I will get them when I return. You will, therefore, please forget that I have any politics whatever."

From this time on, Mrs. Hayes and Senator Clark were occupants of the same car seat, and the president's wife was completely entertained by the rampant Democrat in his relations of his varied and often-time dangerous experiences in Wisconsin. On reaching Madison, Mrs. Hayes cordially invited him to visit the White House, not as a Democrat, but as a friend, and a very pleasant, agreeable gentleman, and this is more than she said or did to several Republicans on that occasion.

Character of Levi B. Vilas

By Arthur B. Braley

It was a bright February morning, and the risen sun, unobscured by a cloud, shed a flood of glory down upon the snow-covered landscape. Sitting by my library window, I gazed northward in search of an idea, or a topic, for my pen, and my eye lighted upon a spacious stone mansion, standing near the summit of the hill commanding a full view of the broad Mendota, once so sparkling and lively, now pulseless beneath the icy clasp of winter's death-like embrace. This handsome edifice was the residence of my lamented friend, Judge L. B. Vilas, and thus I was reminded of a grateful theme, and an obligation I owe to the dead, at the same time. It is some years since Judge Vilas left

"This bank and shoal of time,"

and took up his abode in the mysterious and boundless hereafter; but he was a man not easily forgotten, and still many more years will roll over his grave before his memory will be obscured by the clouds of oblivion. I do not think that full justice was ever yet done the character of my deceased friend. I have often thought so, and have cherished the design of adding at least my feeble tribute of admiration to the merits of departed worth. Why should I not? It may be tardy justice, but there is no moral reason why an honest debt should not be paid, even though the statute of limitations may have cancelled the legal obligation.

When I first knew Judge Vilas, he could have been but a few years older than his distinguished son is, at present. His tall form was erect as a cedar, and his dark locks were scarcely tinged with gray. He impressed me as one marked "extraordinary," and "not in the roll of common men." As time passed on, and the intercourse of casual acquaintance ripened into the intimacies of the closer ties of friendship, my impressions were deepened and confirmed. Intellectually he had few superiors. His mental

constitution was peculiarly distinguished by strength, vigor and breadth. He was an intellectual athlete. His mind was clear, forcible, logical and original. He was quick of apprehension, and yet, his conclusions were always the result of logical deduction, and, being thoroughly honest, nothing could shake the foundations of his stability, when he had once settled the truthfulness of his convictions. He was a great reader, possessed a powerful memory, and the thoroughly healthy stomach of his strong mind readily digested what he had read. He was a rare conversationalist; indeed, few could match him in this particular. His fund of anecdote and illustration was almost inexhaustible, and these were always so apt, that they added great force and poignancy to his conclusions. Once, when arguing the proposition that certain things were more probable than others, he quoted from the charge of the Vermont judge, who told the jury that it would naturally require more proof to convince them that a sheep had rooted up a door-yard, than that a hog had done so. At another time speaking of the changes which the lapse of years had made in the advancement of liberality in religion, he referred to the old time minister who arose in the pulpit and said, with solemn satisfaction: "I flatter myself that nine-tenths of my respected congregation are to be ultimately damned."

During the latter years of his life, Judge Vilas occupied considerable of his leisure time in reading and studying the Bible, and it was decidedly interesting to hear him converse upon the subject. His quick apprehension, and keen appreciation of the beautiful in art or literature, enabled him to find striking passages, which would have escaped the attention of the ordinary reader.

Judge Vilas made a mistake when he quit the actual business of his profession at so early an age. He, himself, often regretted this step. His mind was too active, his talents too bright, and his faculties too vigorous and robust, to be contented with the pleasures of mere ease. A powerful intellect, long exercised and trained in the fields of mental labor, suddenly cut off from all its accustomed employment, falls back on itself, and is too apt to feed on, and consume, its own happiness.

There is another part of Judge Vilas' character upon which I have not yet touched. I allude now to the brightest jewels in the diadem which crowns the genuine man. Without honor, truth and integrity, no man can claim the rewards due to real nobility. The subject of this sketch was, of course, not faultless, but in regard to those traits which form the character of true generosity of heart, and good will toward others, Judge Vilas was often the victim of a misjudging world. He had all these qualities in a large degree. He had the reputation of being close and exacting in financial matters, but he did not deserve it. It is true, that he would exact what he believed to be his right to the last cent; but he was liberal and generous to profusion, where the occasion called for the exercise of those qualities of the heart. One instance, within the actual knowledge of the writer, will fully illustrate this part of his character. He had been annoyed by trespasses long continued upon some of his property. He at last brought suit, to put a stop to these encroachments, and the result was a judgment for damages amounting to a considerable sum. Before he left the court-room, it was reliably whispered in his ear that the defendant was poor, and burdened with a sick wife. Without a word, the judge stepped up to the clerk's desk, and satisfied on the record the judgment, which he had just obtained, and paid the costs himself. This undisputed fact ought to be a sufficient vindication against all charges of the nature indicated.

Judge Vilas used to say of himself, that no man could charge him with loving his enemies better than he did his friends. It was pre-eminently true of him, that he never forgot an obligation, nor deserted a friend. He hated fraud, was an enemy to duplicity, and despised shams. Strictly honest in his private business transactions, his code of ethics in the management of public affairs may be summed up in his own well chosen words: "Infidelity to public trust is moral treason to the government."

He was true to his own political creed, for, in all the official stations which he was called upon to fill, no trace of wrong, of corruption, or malfeasance has ever been found. His private record is equally clear of reproach or stain. Honestly, and by

painstaking effort and earnest toil, he accumulated a fortune, without soiling his hands or darkening his soul with ill-gotten gains.

Like most men, Judge Vilas had an ambition to stand well with the people. He desired popularity, if he could secure it without the sacrifice of principle, or his own independence as a man. He would not "stoop to conquer." Whenever popular passion, prejudice or feeling came in conflict with his own well-matured convictions, of what was right and just, he never hesitated one moment to pursue the independent path, although he knew that the consequence would be disastrous to himself personally.

Our own beautiful city of Madison is today enjoying the lasting benefits of this strong element in his character. While he was mayor, he inaugurated reforms and improvements which have since become permanent, although he sacrificed a re-election to secure them; and he well knew the popular feeling and prejudice that threatened him when he proposed the reforms. All honor to such men—men who dare to be right at the expense of popularity. In the end, they have their reward, for when passion has subsided, and the clouds of prejudice have rolled away, their characters and memories shine out in the lustre of a more perfect day.

I could say much more of the well-remembered dead, whose mortal remains have so long reposed out yonder on Forest Hill. I could not well say less, for he still lingers fresh and green in my memory; and as time passes, and the mists of prejudice and mistaken ideas fade away, the real virtues and the large merits of the man beam forth with increased radiance.

Judge Vilas has left behind him a marked individuality, which gives him a distinct and permanent place in the history of his times. His faults and his errors are already forgotten, but his strong intellectuality, his devotion to principle, his fidelity to truth, and what he believed to be right, will never fade from the recollections of men. He is now among the choice few who have been taken from us by death, within the last four years, whose places have not been filled, and who are still missed as much as they were on the day they died. There are three great and noble names in this list, Judge Ryan, L. B. Vilas, and Geo. B. Smith—

a noble trio. How glorious and how comforting the thought and the hope, that they survive together in that mysterious and immortal land, where all the resentments and animosities of time are forgotten—are forever buried in the cemeteries where their mortal bodies repose. To them the great mystery has been revealed, and the long hidden secret of life and of death, about which I have heard them all discourse so eloquently, is no longer concealed. The veil has been removed from their eyes, and the light of immortality shines clear and steadfast around them. There is real solace in this hope.

Wisconsin Necrology, 1876-81

By Lyman C. Draper

After giving a few omissions for 1876–78, which should have appeared in vol. viii, the usual necrological sketches for the three years, 1879–81, follow.

1876

Hon. Orrin Guernsey died in Janesville, Sept. 26th, in his sixty-third year. Born in Lisbon, N. H., April 14th, 1814, he early engaged in mercantile pursuits; in the spring of 1843, he was elected a member of the general assembly of that State, and also served as a colonel and brigadier-general in the State militia. In the fall of 1843, he removed to Janesville; and in 1850 he went across the plains to California, returning by way of Panama. In 1856, he was associated with Josiah F. Willard, in preparing a *History of Rock County*, with the transactions of the Agricultural Society and Mechanics' Institute of that county, an octavo volume of 350 pages.

In 1861, Mr. Guernsey was chosen a member of the legislature; and in 1865, he was appointed by President Johnson, a member of the Indian commission to conclude treaties with the Sioux Indians on the Upper Missouri, serving two years in that capacity. He was twice elected to the city council, and once to the county board; for many years one of the trustees of the Blind Asylum, and fourteen years one of the directors of the Madison Insurance Company, and was long the local agent of that and other insurance companies in Janesville.

"Mr. Guernsey," says the Janesville *Gazette*, "was intimately connected with almost every enterprise for the advancement of our city and people, for a third of a century. He was a man of more than ordinary intellectual ability; radical, but liberal, in his religious and political ideas, a firm and persistent friend of our system of free schools, an efficient worker in the Rock County Agricultural Society, and an advocate of every reform calculated to elevate mankind, and make society better."

Prof. Herbert E. Copeland died at Indianapolis, Dec. 12th, in his twenty-eighth year. Born at Avon, Michigan, May 7th, 1849, he received at Ypsilanti a classical education. Removing to Wisconsin in the spring of 1868, he entered the Wisconsin State University, and when completing his sophomore year, he went to Cornell University, where he graduated with high honor. He studied botany under President Chadbourne, and natural history at Penikese under Prof. Agassiz, and became one of the most advanced students in natural history in the country. He was made principal of Ravenswood Academy, Ill., then professor of natural sciences at the Whitewater State Normal School, and subsequently accepted an appointment in the department

of natural sciences in the Indianapolis High School. He furnished many contributions on his favorite science to the scientific institutions and periodicals of the country. He was one of the most prominent of the young naturalists of the West.

1877

An aged Menomonee Indian, named Joe, died Jan. 11th, reputed to have been from one hundred and fifteen to one hundred and twenty years old—doubtless his age was largely exaggerated.

Jefferson Murdock, a rising young lawyer of Oshkosh, who had been in Col. G. Bouck's law office since he was seventeen, perished in the burning of the Revere House in that city, Jan. 17th, at the age of twenty-nine years.

Hon. Joseph Spaulding died near Janesville, Aug. 12th, nearly sixty-five years of age. Born in Bradford Co., Penn., Aug. 23d, 1812, he removed to Wisconsin in 1836, and after a brief sojourn in Racine County, settled in Rock County, in the spring of 1837, three miles north of Janesville. In 1853, and 1863, he represented his district in the assembly. In all the relations of life, he was one of the best of men, always striving to do as he would like to be done by.

1878

Rev. William Goodell died at Janesville, Feb. 15th. He was born in Chenango County, N. Y., in 1792. At different periods, he was engaged as an editor at Providence, New York City, and Utica, and devoted much of his life and energies to the cause of temperance, abolition of slavery, and woman's suffrage. Among other pleasing incidents of his life, it is related, that he in company with Rev. Dr. George B. Cheever and Dr. Brown, of New York, held an interview with President Lincoln the night before the emancipation proclamation was signed—the last interview the president accorded to any prior to issuing that memorable document; and is supposed to have had great influence in bringing his mind to that important decision. Mr. Goodell, long a Congregational clergyman, was actively engaged in the anti-slavery and temperance movements of his day.

Rev. Thomas T. Ruger died at Janesville, April 21st, in his seventy-seventh year. He was born at Northumberland, Saratoga Co., N. Y., Feb. 25th, 1802; was principal of Wilbraham Academy, Mass., in 1830; was president of the Wesleyan Seminary, at Lima, N. Y., for four years. He was ordained an Episcopal clergyman at Sherburne, N. Y.; and, in 1844, removed to Janesville, being the first Episcopal pastor in that place. His four sons, Gen. Thos. H. Ruger, Col. Edward Ruger, Capt. Wm. Ruger, and Surgeon H. H. Ruger, served in the army during the late Civil War.

William M. Tallman died at Janesville May 13th, in the seventieth year of his age. He was born in Lee, Onieda Co., N. Y., June 13th, 1808. Graduating at Yale College in 1830, he took a two-year course in the Yale Law School, and was admitted to the bar in New Haven. He engaged in the practice of his profession in New York City. In 1848, he purchased at pub-

lic auction large tracts of land in Green, Lafayette, Grant, and Iowa counties in this State, and soon added other large purchases in those counties, and in Rock, making altogether about ten thousand acres. They proved a fortune to him. In 1850, he removed to Janesville. Politics and office-seeking were not congenial to his tastes, yet for many years he filled the positions of alderman and county commissioner. He was a man of pure and exemplary character.

Hon. David Noggle died at Janesville July 18th, in his sixty-ninth year. He was born in Franklin, Penn., Oct. 9th, 1809, and early removed to Ohio. After residing awhile in Madison Co., N. Y., he removed, in 1840, to Winnebago Co., Ill., where, while doing full work on his farm he prepared himself for the profession of the law, without spending a day in a lawyer's office or a law school. He was admitted to the bar of the supreme court of Illinois in 1838; and selling his farm the next year, he settled at Beloit, where he soon secured a large legal practice. He was a member of the Democratic party, and was, in 1840, appointed postmaster of Beloit; and having removed to Janesville in 1846, he was that year chosen a member of the first constitutional convention in which body he took a conspicuous part. He was a delegate to the national Democratic conventions of 1844 and 1852, which nominated Presidents Polk and Pierce; and in 1854 and 1857, he served in the assembly. He aided in the elevation of Judge Doolittle to the U. S. senate, and became an ardent Republican. He was chosen judge of his circuit in 1858, serving till 1866, when he removed for a brief period to Iowa. In 1869 he was appointed by President Grant chief justice of Idaho Territory, which position he resigned in 1874 on account of ill-health. He was a man of great natural capacity, and of uncommon force and will of character, and a powerful advocate before a jury.

1879

Hon. Charles Henry Phillips died at Lake Mills, Jan. 1st. He was born in Westmoreland, Oneida County, N. Y., Feb. 24th, 1824, and received a common school education. In 1849, he removed to Wisconsin, settling at Lake Mills, Jefferson County, where he became a successful stock farmer. He served in the Wisconsin assembly in 1870, 1876, and 1877; and in Nov., 1878, he was chosen State senator for his district, but did not live to take his seat. He was a man of superior common sense, much practical experience, and a useful member of society.

Hon. John B. Smith died in Milwaukee, Jan. 3d. Born at Oldtown, Maine, Sept. 11th, 1811, he settled in Milwaukee in the fall of 1843, and engaged in the lumber business. In 1848, he was elected to the State senate, serving a term of two years, during which he proposed an anti-liquor law, which created much excitement at the time—very naturally making some friends, and probably more enemies. In his absence, a reckless mob injured his house and furniture, which the city, as in duty bound, made good to him. His extreme views

aiding in the Horicon Railroad Company; sharing with S. M. Booth in the publication of the *Free Democrat;* president, at one time, during the war, of the Union League; and serving by appointment of President Johnson as internal revenue assessor. Holding radical views, whether of temperance, anti-slavery, or spiritualism, he was fearless in their maintenance.

Prof. W. J. L. Nicodemus died at Madison, January 6th, in his forty-fifth year. He was born in Virginia, opposite to Hagerstown, Maryland, August 1st, 1834, graduating at West Point in 1858, after a thorough course of four years in that institution. Entering the army as a lieutenant, and doing garrison duty at Newport, Ky., he was ordered to New Mexico, where he served on Indian expeditions. On the breaking out of the Civil War, he was made a first lieutenant then a captain, and also assistant adjutant-general of the department of New Mexico. For gallant and meritorious services at the battle of Valverde, Feb. 21st, 1862, he was brevetted major. Transferred Eastward, he was made colonel of the Fourth Maryland Volunteers. He then was assigned to duty in the Signal Corps, participating in several skirmishes; and was afterwards given command of the Signal Bureau in Washington, and finally the entire command of the Signal Corps, having been promoted to the rank of major, and then lieutenant colonel inspecting the Signal Corps. After the war, he was restored to his regiment, the Twelfth Infantry, as a captain, taking rank from Oct. 24th, 1861. In 1869, he was detailed from the regular army for military instruction in the Western University, at Pittsburg; and, in 1870, he was chosen to the chair of military science and civil and mechanical engineering in the University of Wisconsin. His death was caused by over-work. He had been one of the officers and workers in the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters. He was a man of much ability and learning, and his death greatly regretted.

Nathaniel T. Parkinson died at Willow Springs, Lafayette County, Jan. 7th, in his sixty-fourth year. Born Sept. 25th, 1815, in White Co., Tenn., second son of Col. Daniel Parkinson, he migrated with his parents, in 1818, to Madison Co., Ill., and, in 1827, settled in the Lead Region. When only seventeen, he served under General Dodge in the Black Hawk War, showing bravery in the battle of the Bad Axe. In 1837, he removed to Madison, and for three years filled the office of sheriff of Dane County, by appointment of Gov. Dodge. Returning to Lafayette, he was president of the County Agricultural Society, anl filled various offices of public trust. He was a Christian, and a man of much worth and many virtues.

Maj. George Anderson died at Madison, Jan. 10th, in the ninety-fifth year of his age. He was born on the banks of the Raritan, New Jersey, March 8th, 1784; and after residing successively on Staten Island, in Pennsylvania, and Illinois, he settled in Dane County, in 1839, and spent most of his life as a farmer. While residing in Madison, he served two years on the board of aldermen, and several years as supervisor in the county board, serving in the latter capacity at the time of his death. He survived his third wife two weeks. He was a gentleman of the old school, enjoying good health and a bright intellect almost to the last.

Hon. James H. Knowlton died in Chicago Jan. 29th, at the age of nearly sixty-five years. He was born in Canandaigua, N. Y., Feb. 20th, 1814, and was raised on a farm, living several years near Lockport, N. Y. He early studied medicine, but gave it up, and became a lawyer. He settled at Janesville in 1843, removing in 1847 to Shullsburg. He served as county judge, and represented his district in the legislature in 1856. Returning to Janesville, he represented that city in the legislature; and was chairman of the committee to investigate the frauds in the disposition of the land grant in 1856. In the spring of 1862, he was an unsuccessful candidate for associate justice of the supreme court. He subsequently removed to Chicago. Though somewhat eccentric, he was a man of fine legal ability, and of strict integrity of character.

Hon. John Potter Jr., died at Madison, while serving as a member of the legislature, Jan. 29th, in his fifty-eighth year. He was born at Potter's Mills, Penn., May 10th, 1821, descending from Gen. James Potter of that State, who distinguished himself in the old French and Indian War, and in commanding a brigade in the Revolution. Mr. Potter was a lawyer—settled in Wisconsin in 1850; held several local offices, and was chosen to the assembly in 1878, and was re-elected for the session of 1879. He made an active and useful member of the legislature.

Hon. Levi B. Vilas, died at Madison, Feb. 6th, when nearly sixty-eight years of age. He was born at Sterling, Lamoille Co., Vt., Feb. 25th, 1811. He early studied law, and was admitted to the bar at St. Albans, Vt., in 1833; and in 1834, he was appointed postmaster at Morrisville; but soon after removing to Johnson in that State, he was chosen a member of the constitutional convention in 1835, and to the State legislature in 1836, and 1837; and removing to Chelsea, Orange County, he represented that town in the legislature, for three years, commencing in 1840, and each year was the Democratic candidate for speaker, and in 1845–46, served as State senator from Orange County, and was unanimously elected president pro tem. of the senate. During his residence in Vermont, he was once a candidate for Congress; held the office of register of probate, and was probate judge of Orange County for three years; and was, for a time one of the commissioners of the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Institute of Vermont, and a candidate for presidential elector, and a delegate to the Baltimore Democratic national convention. In 1848, he was complimented with the Democratic vote in the legislature as United States senator.

In 1851, he settled at Madison; and 1855, 1868, and 1873, he represented the Capital City in the legislature, and was chosen mayor of Madison in 1861. He was twelve years regent of the State University, a draft commissioner in 1862, and candidate for secretary of state in 1865. In all these numerous and diversified services, he was faithful, honest, and patriotic; and in private life, he was a liberal benefactor to every good work, and benevolent to the poor.

Edward McGraw, born in County Fermanagh, Ireland, in March, 1785, died

at Beaver Dam, Feb. 11th, at the age of nearly ninety-four years. His wife, at the age of ninety-two, after seventy-five years of married life, preceded him to the grave a little over two weeks. They had resided twenty-five years in Beaver Dam.

Rev. F. E. Daems, vicar-general of the Green Bay diocese, died in the Bay Settlement, Brown County, Feb. 12th. He was born near Diest, Belgium, Aug. 28th, 1826, and had served the Catholic congregation of the Bay Settlement, for twenty-seven years, with much usefulness and great acceptance to his people.

Harrison S. Haskell died at Portage, February 13th, in his sixty-first year. Born at Tunbridge, Vt., Sept. 8th, 1818, he graduated at the Vermont University in 1845; and studying law, partly with Noggle and Spalding, at Beloit, he was the following year admitted to the bar, and commenced the practice of his profession at Columbus. Elected county treasurer, in the fall of 1852, he removed to Portage, where he served a while as cashier of the Columbia County Bank; and afterwards justice of the peace, circuit court commissioner, and the closing four years of his life postmaster at Portage. He was a most worthy and useful citizen.

Hon. George L. Frost died in Madison, while serving as a member of the legislature, Feb. 15th, in his forty-ninth year. Born at Springfield, Mass., March 18th, 1830, he graduated at Yale College at twenty, and two years later at Harvard Law School. Settling at Mineral Point in 1853, he engaged in the practice of law; was district attorney of Iowa County in 1854 and 1856, city superintendent of schools in 1862, member of the State senate in 1863–64, and an unsuccessful candidate for circuit judge in this latter year. In the fall of 1878, he was elected to the assembly from the first district of Iowa County. He was a man of much ability.

Gen. James H. Paine died in Milwaukee, Feb. 19th, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. He was a native of Connecticut, early settled in Ohio, and finally in Milwaukee in 1848. He was an able lawyer, and one of the leading Abolitionists of his time, and a firm friend of the government during the Civil War. He was the father of the late Hon. Byron Payne.

Henry Williams died at Milwaukee, Feb. 23d, in his seventy-third year. He was born in Providence, R. I., in April, 1806, and settled in Milwaukee in 1836, and was long and successfully engaged in business operations, and a prominent member of the Old Settlers' Club.

William Stewart died at the Home of the Friendless, Fond du Lac, Feb. 26th, in his ninetieth year. He belonged to a distinguished Scotch family, and served fourteen years in the British army. He was an officer under Wellington, at Waterloo, where he was wounded. He subsequently served eight years in the army of this country. He was among the earliest mail-carriers between Fort Dearborn, now Chicago, and Milwaukee.

John T. La Ronde died in the town of Caledonia, March 2d, in his seventy-eighth year. He was born in Bordeaux, France, Feb. 25th, 1802, descending from distinguished ancestry. He settled at Portage in 1828,

having for the previous eleven years been a clerk in the great fur companies of the Northwest. He married into the noted Winnebago De Kaury family, and took great interest in that nation, long serving as an interpreter, and many years as a trader among them. He was a man of much intelligence, and a great lover of history and travels. He was at one time a justice of the peace of Caledonia; and was the authur of a narrative of the Winnebagoes, published in the seventh volume of the *Collections* of this Society.

Hon. Wm. R. Gorsline died at Denver, Colorado, March 3d, about sixty years of age. He was a native of New York, graduating at Union College, and settling in Sheboygan, in 1846, in the practice of law. He met with brilliant success. In 1847 he was chosen register of deeds, and afterwards filled the offices of judge of probate and district attorney; and, in 1854, succeeded Judge Howe as circuit judge of the district, serving till 1857, when failing health forced him to resign. He subsequently moved to Colorado; and, in 1860, was appointed one of the territorial judges of that Territory by President Buchanan, and re-appointed by President Johnson. He attained a commanding position at the Colorado bar, and was recognized as authority on all important questions of law.

Rev. Martin Kundig, vicar-general of Milwaukee, died in that city, March 6th, at the age of seventy-four years. He was born in Switzerland in 1805. He spent his early years with Archbishop Henni, studying together, and visiting Rome together, and both at length migrated to the New World. After laboring several years as priest in Ohio and Michigan, he came to Milwaukee in 1842, and labored to some extent at other points in Wisconsin and at Dubuque; but served as vicar general of Milwaukee for the past fifteen years. He was a very effective laborer among his people.

George D. Dousman died at Wauwatosa, March 15th, in the seventy-second year of his age. He was born at Mackinaw in June, 1807, and settled at Milwaukee in 1835, where he remained many years in business, and at length retired to farm life. He belonged to a distinguished pioneer family of Mackinaw.

Rev. James DeKoven, D. D., died at Racine, March 19th, in his forty-eighth year. He was born at Middletown, Conn., Sept. 18th, 1831, graduated at Columbia College in 1851, and the General Theological Seminary in 1854. Serving five years, in part as a professor at Nashotah Seminary, and rector at Delafield, he at length took charge of Racine College in 1859; and there labored nearly twenty years, meeting with wonderful success as an educator. In 1875, he was elected bishop of Illinois, but failed of confirmation; and not long before his death, he was chosen rector of St. Mark's Church, Philadelphia, but had not accepted. In Dr. DeKoven's early death, the Episcopal church lost one of its ablest supporters.

Mrs. James M. Boyd, daughter of Hon. John Lawe, one of the pioneers of Green Bay, died at Kaukauna, March 23d, aged about sixty-five years. She was a native of Green Bay, and all her life a resident of Fox River valley.

Saba Atwood died in the town of Fond du Lac March 23d, at the great

age of ninety-six years. He was a native of Massachusetts, was a veteran of the War of 1812, and had been a citizen of Wisconsin for more than a quarter of a century.

Rev. Hezekiah C. Tilton died at Janesville, March 26th, in his sixty-first year. He was born in Maine, August 30th, 1818; became a Methodist clergyman in 1841, supplying various pulpits in that state for sixteen years. In 1857, he came to Wisconsin, and was stationed successively in Milwaukee, Fond du Lac, Appleton, Whitewater, and Janesville, serving as presiding elder of the Racine district. In 1861, he was made chaplain of the Thirteenth Regiment; but failing health compelled him to resign the following year. In 1864, he represented a district in Walworth County in the legislature, in which body he took an active and prominent part. In 1876, Gov. Ludington appointed him a member of the State Board of Charities and Reform for a term of three years, proving himself very useful in that position. Nominated, in 1875, by the Prohibition party for governor, he declined the honor. He was an able pulpit orator, and highly esteemed by all who knew him.

Capt. Joseph Houle, of Green Bay, died in the latter part of March, at Kaukauna, at the reputed great age of one hundred and thirteen years. George Lawe, born in 1804, remembers Houle as a gray-headed old man in 1815, at work around the trading-post of his father, John Lawe.

Hon. Charles Burchard died at Beaver Dam, April 1st, in his seventieth year. He was born at Granby, Hampshire Co., Mass., January 1st, 1810; and after receiving an academic education, he devoted himself to farming. He resided several years in Oneida, Lewis, and Madison Counties, N. Y., and was prominently connected with the Liberty, or Anti-Slavery party; but did not support his party candidate, James G. Birney, for president in 1844, preferring Henry Clay. His published letter at the time giving his preferences was widely circulated. In 1845, he removed to Wisconsin, settling first in Waukesha; and after one of the members from that county in the first constitutional conv tion. Subsequently removing to Beaver Dam, he represented that serving as chairman of the county board of supervisors, he was chosen district in the assembly in 1856. He was seven times elected a member of the county board of Dodge County, and a commissioner of the board of enrollment for the Fourth Congressional District during the war. He was an able temperance advocate, a public spirited citizen, a popular and worthy man. His career and his influence in society were both honorable and useful.

Peter Yates, long a prominent and able lawyer at Milwaukee, and subsequently at Grand Rapids, Mich., died in the latter city April 6th, at the age of seventy-two years. He was a man of much pluck, zeal, and pertinacity, both in his profession and in political contests.

Capt. Angus R. McDonald died at Madison, Apr. 14, at the age of forty-seven years. He was born on the Island of Eigg, Inverness, Scotland, Oct. 2d, 1837, and had resided in Wisconsin about twenty-five years. In 1861

he entered the Eleventh Wisconsin Infantry, and was promoted from the ranks to second and first lieutenant, and served to the end of the war. He was physically a powerful man. He used to relate, that on one occasion, he was stabbed severely in the shoulder, and only saved his breast by hugging closely to him the dead body of a rebel he had killed in the fight. Maj. J. S. Miller, reporting the part taken by the Eleventh Regiment in a battle near Mobile, in the spring of 1865, said:

"To particularize, when officers and men displayed unusual gallantry, may seem invidious, yet I cannot neglect to mention First Lieutenant Angus R. McDonald, commanding Company E, for his gallant and heroic conduct. On mounting the parapet of the enemy's works, he was attacked by six men; he knocked two of them down with his sabre, and in return received a shot through his thigh, and two bayonet wounds in the breast."

After the war, he filled a position in the capitol at Madison, and subsequently was internal revenue store-keeper at Milwaukee till his health failed him. He was a man of many genial qualities.

Hon. Wm. Starr died at Ripon, April 18th, in his fifty-ninth year. Born in Middletown, Conn., March 3d, 1821, he came to Wisconsin in 1843; followed teaching for three years, and then engaged in merchandizing, farming, and lumbering. He served prominently in the legislature in 1863 and 1864, and from 1865 until his death was a member of the normal school board, and its president from 1868. Ripon College owes much to his aid and good service.

Rev. Charles D. Helmer, D. D., a native of the Mohawk valley, died at Lockport, N. Y., April 28th, in his fifty-second year. He graduated at Union Theological Seminary in 1852; and had for several years, from 1859, been the able pastor of Plymouth Church, Milwaukee, and subsequently removed to Chicago. His health failing him, he returned to his former home at Lockport. He was a learned, eloquent and pious divine. His fine poem—"Pæan to Oriskany"—which he prepared for the occasion, was read at the Oriskany Centennial celebration, Aug. 6th, 1877, commemorating one of the sanguinary battles of the Revolution.

Abraham Rice Gale, a native of New York, died at Gales' Landing, Oconto Co., April 30th, aged sixty-nine years. He was among the early pioneers of Milwaukee, and afterwards resided in Waukesha and Oshkosh.

Albert Wood, formerly residing near Madison, and at one time publisher of the *Wisconsin Farmer*, died at Gardiner, Colorado, May 1st, aged forty-nine years.

Wm. W. Vaughn, a prominent Welsh citizen of Racine, died in that city, May 22d, at the age of sixty-five years. He settled in Racine in 1842; was at one time mayor of that city, and a presidential elector in 1860 on the Lincoln ticket. He sympathized with every movement tending to advance the interests of his adopted city.

Hon. Thomas W. Hill died at Geneva Lake, May 26th, in his sixty-sixth year. He settled in Walworth County in 1838; elected to the legislature in

1853, and in 1863, and served as chairman of the board of supervisors, and at the time of his death was county superintendent of the poor. He was long a prominent and useful citizen of the county.

James M. Gillett died at Fond du Lac, May 31st, in his fifty-ninth year. He was born at Farmersville, Cattaraugas County, N. Y., April 21st, 1821; and after several years teaching and studying law, he settled in Fond du Lac in 1846, and in December of that year established a newspaper there. He was a man of kindly impulses, generous, talented and brilliant, and became one of the foremost lawyers of the State. He was once a candidate for the State senate; but having no political tact, he was no intriguer, nor trickster, and was consequently beaten. He was glad of it, and never after dabbled in politics.

George C. Dousman died in Milwaukee, May 31st, at the age of sixty years. He was a native of Mackinaw, and one of the pioneers of Milwaukee. In 1860, he was chosen city clerk, and served five successive terms. He was then elected a member of the county board, and was made president of that body. From 1869 to 1872, he served as county auditor. He was subsequently car agent of one of the railroad companies.

Hon. Frederick S. Ellis died at Green Bay, June 6th, in the fiftieth year of his age. He was third son of Gen. A. G. Ellis, born at Green Bay, Jan. 17th, 1830. Receiving a fair education, he became a surveyor, and afterwards an insurance agent. In 1861, 1862 and 1863, he represented his district in the Assembly; and, in 1864–65, he served a term in the senate. He was for several years chairman of the Brown County board of supervisors; and, in 1876, he was chosen mayor of the city. He held all these positions with credit to himself and the community. In the fall of 1876, he was elected county treasurer; and when pecuniary reverses overtook him, he offered to shield his friends from loss, so far as he could, by turning over to them every item of his personal property, even to his household furniture, and a life insurance policy of $2,000; but so high was their respect for him and his family, that they chose rather to share the burden themselves than to accept the sacrifice. He had troops of friends, and all sympathized with him in his misfortunes.

Capt. Ira Miltimore died at Janesville, June 9th, at the age of sixty-six years. Born at Windham, Vt., in 1813, he established himself as a millwright and machinist at Chicago in 1836, where he was a member of the common council from 1838 to 1845. In this latter year he removed to Janesville, built the "big mill," served nine years in the common council, and was one of the directors in the Rock River Valley Railroad, the precursor of the Chicago and Northwestern Company. He donated ten acres for the State Institute for the Blind, and was for fifteen years a member of the board for its management. He raised a company for the Thirty-Third Wisconsin, sharing in the capture of Jackson, Mississippi, and the siege of Vicksburg. His was a life of activity and usefulness, and he was greatly respected for his public spirit and enterprise.

T. V. Maguire died at Racine, June 9th, at the age of thirty-five years. He was several years a teacher, two terms county superintendent of schools of Kenosha; after which he was admitted to the bar, and served as justice of the peace.

Hon. Wm. R. Hesk died at Menomonee, Waukesha County, June 11th, over eighty-three years of age. Born in Yorkshire, England, he came to this country, and after remaining some time in Detroit he came to Milwaukee in 1836, and soon after settled in Menomonee. He was a member of the first constitutional convention, and in 1860 represented his district in the Assembly. He was frequently a member of the county board of supervisors, and held various town offices. He was a man of great good sense, a warm friend, and useful citizen.

Rev. S. A. Dwinnell died at Reedsburg, June 15th, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. Born in Lee, Berkshire Co., Mass., Aug. 9th, 1812, he was educated at Phillips' Academy, at Andover; but his health prevented him for some time from engaging in the work of the Christian ministry. In 1834, he united with the Abolitionists in their crusade against slavery. In 1835, he migrated to Indiana, and three years later to Walworth Co., Wisconsin. In 1850, he settled in Reedsburg, and two years later he was licensed to preach, and ordained a year later. He was a faithful minister, and very radical in his teachings on temperance, slavery, profanity, and Sabbath-breaking. He founded the Congregational church in Reedsburg. He wrote and published much on the early history of Wisconsin, and left in manuscript notes on the pioneers and pioneer settlement of Walworth County, since placed by his widow in the archives of the State Historical Society. He was a man of great purity and worth of character.

Miss Martha Peet, daughter of Rev. Stephen Peet, one of the pioneer clergymen of Wisconsin, died at Beloit, June 24th, in her fifty-second year. She was born in Euclid, Ohio, July 14th, 1827. In 1835, her father removed to Buffalo, two years later to Green Bay, and in 1839 to Milwaukee. Removing to Beloit in 1844, Miss Peet prosecuted her literary pursuits in the Seminary there. Her life was spent in doing good, in the church and out of it, among the poor and needy. She became a vigorous temperance lecturer, and an earnest worker in every good cause. She was one of the active managers in the Women's Centennial movement in 1876.

Hon. Theodore Barnhardt died in Watertown, June 27th, aged fifty-six years. He was a native of Berlin, Prussia, and had been thirty years a resident of Watertown. He served a term in the legislature in 1854, filled the offices of justice of the peace and city clerk, and for the past nineteen years he was principal of the Watertown High School. He was a greatly respected and useful citizen.

Mrs. Abby Hanford died in Janesville, June 29th, at the venerable age of ninety-three years. She was a native of Connecticut, and had survived her husband twelve years. Her oldest living child was seventy-six, her oldest grandchild fifty-six, and her oldest great grandchild twenty-five.

William Dudley, a prominent citizen and business man of Madison, died in that city July 2d, aged sixty-three years. He was born in Douglas, Mass., in 1816, came to Wisconsin in 1844, settling in Madison in 1852. He was State librarian in 1852–53.

Col. Wm. B. Slaughter died at Madison, July 15th, in his eighty-third year. He was born of a noted family in Culpeper Co., Va., April 19th, 1797, and early graduated at the college of William and Mary. He settled in 1826 as a lawyer at Bardstown, Ky., and in 1830 at Bedford, Indiana. He was elected in 1832 to the Indiana legislature, and was the author of resolutions passed by that body sustaining President Jackson's celebrated proclamation against nullification. In 1833, he was appointed by President Jackson register of the land office at Indianapolis; in 1835 register of the land office at Green Bay, and served at the close of that year in the last Michigan Territorial council, and wrote the memorial to Congress for the establishment and organization of Wisconsin Territory. In 1837 he was appointed secretary of the Territory. Resigning his office in 1841, he returned to Virginia; but coming again to Wisconsin in April, 1861, he was appointed commissary and quartermaster by President Lincoln, the duties of which he discharged for a year, when he resigned. He was a fine scholar and an ornate writer, and prepared lectures on philosophical, moral, and literary subjects. He wrote a number of sketches for the American Biographical Company, for their work on the prominent men of Wisconsin; and had published a volume of his own on *Reminiscences of Distinguished Men*—Jefferson, Jackson, and Randolph among them. He was a fine conversationalist, and possessed a wonderful memory.

Rev. Robert Boyd, D. D., died at Waukesha, July 31st, at about the age of sixty years. He was born near Stirling, Scotland, and was a student under Dr. Chalmers. He early became a Baptist clergyman, preaching in Canada ten years from 1845, and seven years in Chicago. In 1864 he settled in Waukesha, where for many years he was an invalid. He was a brilliant man, very entertaining and instructive in his pulpit ministrations. He wrote several religious works of much reputation.

Col. Oliver C. Crocker, of Binghamton, N. Y., died while on a visit at Chicago, Aug. 1st, in his sixty-ninth year. His early pioneer experiences in Sheboygan County are noticed elsewhere in this volume.

Moses Hardwick, an early soldier at Green Bay, and pioneer settler of Brown County, died in the town of Scott, in that county, Aug. 14th, in his eighty-eighth year. A worthy notice of him has already appeared in this volume.

Mrs. —— Willey died at Dickeysville, Grant County, Aug. 22d, at the great age of one hundred and two years. She enjoyed good health until the last six months of her life.

Col. A. H. West died at Madison, Aug. 26th. He was a native of Ohio, had been a prominent hotel-keeper at Detroit, and became proprietor of the Park and Tonyawatha hotels, Madison. He was a member of the common council, and commodore of the Yacht Club.

Hon. Stephen Bowron, died at Neenah, Aug. 29th, in his fifty-ninth year. He was born in Peru village, N. Y., March 18th, 1829, and settled in Oshkosh in 1849. From 1863 to 1870, he was one of the county commissioners; in 1873, 1874, and 1875; he was a member of the county board. In 1875, he was defeated by Col. G. Bouck for the assembly; in 1876, he was elected county treasurer. He possessed many popular traits of character.

Col. Wm. Johnson died at Heart Prairie, Walworth Co., Sept. 6th, in his eighty-ninth year. He was born in Monmouth Co., N. J., Feb. 17th, 1791.

Dr. J. C. Palme died at Pepperell, Mass., Sept. 8th. He came to Wisconsin in 1854, settling at Watertown, where, with Carl Schurz, he established a German Republican paper; and, in 1860, he served in a position at the capitol for four years, when he went to St. Louis; but afterwards returning, he located in Milwaukee, where for ten years he ably edited the *Herold*. But a few weeks before his death, he was appointed government inspector of paper at a paper-mill at Pepperell. He was a man of fine, amiable character, and a sturdy, honest, independent journalist.

D. L. Townsend died at Beaver Dam, Sept. 8th, at the age of fifty years. He was formerly a resident of Madison, but for twenty-five years had been a prominent business man and politician at Beaver Dam, and had served as sheriff of Dodge County.

Henry Pritchard, an old settler at Beaver Dam, died there, Sept. 8th, aged eighty years.

Walter Cooley, an early settler of Racine, died at Riverside, Ill., Sept. 10th. He was a member of the Racine County Old Settlers' Society.

Dr. William Montgomery Thomas died at Darlington, Sept. 10th, aged fifty-three years. He had resided there twenty-five years, and had represented his profession in a number of State and national conventions. He was a native of Annapolis, Maryland. He was a graduate of St. John's College and the University of Maryland. In the Mexican War he rendered good service, and was an aide to Gen. Scott at the battle of Vera Cruz. He also served during our Civil War as surgeon of the Thirty-First Wisconsin regiment.

Capt. W. H. Lindwurm died in the town of Milwaukee, Sept. 12th, at the age of sixty-one years. He settled in Milwaukee in 1845, and served repeatedly on the board of supervisors, and was two or three times an unsuccessful candidate for the legislature. He was a man of powerful physique, and affable manners.

Hon. Wm. Ketchum died at Richland Center, Sept. 14th, in his sixty-first year. He was born at Jericho, Long Island, May 24th, 1819, and settled in Richland County in 1851. He served in the State senate in 1864–65, and again in 1868–69; and four years as assistant State treasurer. He was a careful and able public officer, and a good, benevolent and useful citizen.

Hon. George B. Smith died at Madison, Sept. 18th, at the age of fifty-six. He was many years an active officer of the State Historical Society, and his death and career were appropriately commemorated in the eighth Volume of the Society's *Collections*.

A conspicuous colored man, and a decided character, known as "General Jackson," died at Appleton, Sept. 19th, supposed to have been upwards of a hundred years old. He was a droll negro, and had resided in Northern Wisconsin forty or fifty years.

Mrs. Cornelia Satterlee, a second cousin of Hon. Satterlee Clark, died Sept. 21st at Sioux City, Iowa, at the age of eighty-four. She was born in Plattsburg, N. Y., in 1795, and settled at Green Bay in 1846.

Victor Charron, a French soldier, who fought under the eagles of the first Napoleon, died at Manawa, Waupaca County, where he lived with a married daughter, Sept. 21st, at an advanced age.

Major W. H. Clark, a well-known lawyer and Democratic politician of Baraboo, twenty years ago, died at Dexterville, Wood County, towards the latter part of September. He was an able public speaker, and a man of genial disposition.

Miss Amelia Mallory died at Milwaukee, Sept. 28th. She was a native of New York, and came to Milwaukee with her father's family in 1850. She early became a teacher in the public schools, and by her superior qualifications was, about 1867, made principal of the Seventh Ward School, holding that position for three years. Her mind was highly cultivated, and possessed traits of character of uncommon excellence.

Sister Emanuel Schmidt, of the Catholic Order of School Sisters, died at the convent of Notre Dame, Milwaukee, Sept. 28th, at the age of sixty years. She was born at Station, in Wurtemburg, and was a niece of the celebrated Canon Christopher Von Schmidt, the great juvenile story writer of that country. For thirty years she labored with all her energies in behalf of the institute in Milwaukee.

Hon. Isaac Adams died in Cottage Grove, Dane Co., Sept. 28th, in his fifty-fifth year. He was a native of Oneida Co., N. Y., and settled in Wisconsin in 1853. Besides filling many local offices, he was a member of the legislature for 1867 and 1875.

David S. Bertie died in Manitowoc, Sept. 28th. He was a native of Dundee, Scotland, and was long a resident of Beaver Dam, where he was a deputy internal revenue collector for a number of years. He was a prominent Mason, and was greatly respected.

Pardon H. Merrill, father of Hon. S. T. Merrill of Beloit, died at that place, Sept. 29th, in the ninety-second year of his age. He was born at Rowe, Mass., Dec. 20th, 1788. He was the patentee of the "goose-neck" hoe, and was for many years engaged in its manufacture. He had been a resident of Beloit for nineteen years.

John C. Homes died at Kenosha, Sept. 29th, at the age of seventy-eight years. He settled at Kenosha in 1836.

Dr. Ambrose Morse died at Madison, Oct. 6th, at the age of seventy-nine years. He was a native of Rhode Island, and came to Wisconsin in 1854

Stephen Newberry died in Johnstown, Rock County, Oct. 8th, in his eighty-fifth year.

Capt. Henry Turner died at Menasha, October 8th. He was a native of Peru, Clinton Co., N. Y., and came to Wisconsin some twenty years ago. He served as a first lieutenant, and was promoted to captain, in Col. H. C. Hobart's Twenty-First Regiment; and was wounded in front of Atlanta, a ball passing through his neck, between the jugular and the windpipe, but without cutting either; but the windpipe was laid bare, and was for a long time visible through the opening of the wound. He was a member of the assembly in 1866. He was a cousin of Hon. A. J. Turner, a good citizen, honorable and enterprising.

Gen. Hiram C. Bull was gored to death by an elk, in a park adjoining his residence, Bull City, Kansas, October 12th, in his sixtieth year. He was born in Fredonia, N. Y., August 19th, 1820. He early settled in Milwaukee, then removed to California, and located at Madison, Wis., in 1854, engaging in the lumber business. In 1856, he was elected to the State senate, and subsequently came within a single vote of receiving the Republican nomination for governor. He was several years adjutant-general of the State. Journeying to New Mexico and Arizona in 1859, he returned in 1861, in time to early engage in the war. He raised a company for the Ninth Iowa Regiment, and commanded his regiment in the battle of Pea Ridge, in which he was wounded. On his recovery, he was appointed paymaster, serving in Washington City, California, Oregon, and Utah till the end of the war. He subsequently located at Leavenworth; and at the close of 1870, he established Bull City, bending his energies to the development of the country. He was a member of the Kansas legislature. He was a genial man, of noble liberality, and one of the early officers and benefactors of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Miss Gertrude Sibree, of Manitowoc, died at Peshtigo, Oct. 17th, at the age of twenty-five years. She was a successful teacher, and a remarkably accomplished and lovely woman.

Rev. A. Inama, a Catholic priest, and a member of the order of St. Norbert, died at Roxbury, Dane County, Oct. 18th, at the age of eighty-one—the oldest priest in the arch-diocese.

John Rumrill died at Hartland, Oct. 22d, in his eighty-third year. He was born at Windsor, Vt., Nov. 22d, 1796; and having united with the Masonic fraternity in Dec., 1818, he was one of the oldest members of the order in the West.

Mrs. Elizabeth F. Brigham died in Madison, Nov. 3d, in her eighty-seventh year—mother of Hon. J. R. Brigham, of Milwaukee, and of Mrs H. G. Bliss, of Madison. She was born in Greenfield, Mass., Jan. 1st, 1793; married David Brigham, and settled in Madison in Nov., 1839. Mr. Brigham was a lawyer of good reputation, but died in the early days of the Territory. Mrs. Brigham was forty years a resident of Madison. She was a sister of George Ripley, for many years the literary editor of the New York *Tribune*.

Hon. Adam Schantz died at Juneau, Dodge County, Nov. 4th, at the age of sixty years. He was born in Bavaria, Oct. 9th, 1819; and was brought to this country when only nine years of age, settling near Utica, N. Y. He

settled in 1846 in Washington Co., Wis., where he married in 1848. He was called to fill many offices of honor and trust, having served as register of deeds, and chairman of the town board for fifteen years. He was elected a member of the assembly in 1854, and 1863; and he served three terms, of two years each, in the State senate, 1868–69, 1870–71, and 1873–74. He had latterly resided a few years at Juneau, where he was elected chairman of the board of supervisors.

Hon. David W. Jones died at Joplin, Missouri, Nov. 17th, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. He was born in Wales, March 25th, 1815, and brought to this country when two years of age, his parents settling at Uniontown, Pa. After graduating at Madison College, in that State, he studied law; and coming to Mineral Point, in 1836 he became a clerk in the land office at that place, and in 1842 was appointed receiver of the office. He was subsequently appointed general paymaster of the whole Northwest; and at the close of this service, he resumed his legal studies, and engaged in the practice of his profession. In 1855 he was elected secretary of State, and re-elected in 1857, and filled the position with ability. In after years, he went to Texas; but his health failing, he started on his return to Wisconsin, and died on the way. He had a kind word and a helping hand for all.

Capt. Hiram Russell died at Stevens Point, Nov. 17th. He was largely engaged in lumbering; and served as a captain in the Twenty-First Wisconsin, and was wounded at Chickamauga.

George F. C. Memhard, died at Madison, Nov. 21st, in his forty-sixth year. A native of Wittenberg, Germany, he came to Milwaukee in 1845, and to Madison in 1851. He served several years as deputy county register, city treasurer, and member of the board of aldermen.

John Reynolds, a native of Rhode Island, died at Beloit, Dec. 2d, aged nearly eighty-six years. He settled in Beloit in 1846, where he was several years a merchant, and at one time city treasurer.

Job Haskell died at Saukville, Dec. 8th, in his eighty-sixth year. Born in Maine, Sept. 10th, 1794, he devoted most of his life to school teaching. He served in the War of 1812, particularly in the battle of Lundy's Lane under Gen. Winfield Scott. He was a police justice in New York City under Mayor Harper, and was elected to the New York legislature; and coming to Wisconsin about 1850, he served a term in the legislature of this State in 1869. He was tall, straight and imposing; a worthy and intelligent man.

Hon. Chauncey H. Purple died at Watertown, Dec. 13th, and is deservedly noticed elsewhere in this volume.

Hon. Francis Steffin died in Hortonia, Dec. 15th. Born in Prussia, Nov. 5th, 1836, he was brought to this country when seven years of age; and settled in Outagamie County in 1852. He served as a private in the Thirty-Second Infantry at Vicksburg, and other engagements in that quarter, and in Sherman's march to the sea in 1864–65. He was elected clerk of the court, five times chairman of the board of his town, and once of the county board, and in 1878 and 1879 he represented his district in the legislature.

Mrs. Betsey Calkins, widow of the late Turner Calkins, died at Lisbon, Waukesha County, Nov. 24th, aged ninety-one years. She had removed from Austerlitz, Columbia Co., N. Y., to Lisbon in 1844.

Hon. Asaph Whittlesey died at Bayfield, Dec. 15th, about fifty-six years of age. He was a native of Tallmadge, Ohio, and settled in Ashland County, Wis., in 1854, and was the first postmaster and justice of the peace of Ashland; and in 1860, represented his district in the assembly; walking to Madison on snow-shoes, and camping out at nights in the unsettled portion of his route. He was also county judge of Ashland County. In 1861, he was appointed receiver of the land office at Bayfield, which he resigned in 1868 to accept the position of Indian agent, which position he held only a year.

Thomas Comer died at Two Rivers, Dec. 21st, at the advanced age of ninety-two years, leaving four surviving children.

George W. Bliss died at Neosha, Missouri, Dec. 26th. He was born at Towanda, Pa., Sept. 20th, 1808. He was a fellow apprentice with Horace Greeley at the printer's trade. After publishing papers in Western New York, from 1830 to 1838, he removed the latter year to Fulton Co., Ill., where he remained principally engaged in farming for nine years. He removed to Mineral Point in 1847, establishing the *Tribune*, and publishing it successfully for twenty-one years. He served in the legislature in 1870, and filled other public positions, as he had in New York and Illinois. At the close of 1870, he removed to Neosha, where he served as mayor of the young city between five and six years. He was a prominent Mason, a deep thinker, and well-read man.

1880

Jesse Corwin died at Sparta, Jan. 3d, at the age of ninety-one years. As a soldier of the War of 1812, he received a pension, and had resided at Sparta since 1853.

Dr. Erastus B. Wolcott died in Milwaukee, Jan. 5th, in his seventy-sixth year. He was born in Benton, Yates Co., N. Y., Oct. 18th, 1804; received a medical diploma in 1825; was appointed a surgeon in the U. S. army in 1836, and resigning in 1839, settled that year in Milwaukee. From the appointment of surgeon in the Territorial militia, in 1842, he rose to a colonel of a regiment, and major-general of militia, and surgeon-general of the State during the war, and for the most of the time thereafter to the time of his death. He held many other positions of honor and usefulness—regent of the State University, trustee of the State Hospital for the Insane, commissioner at the Paris Exposition, and a manager of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers. In every position, he was efficient, faithful, and zealous. Broad and sympathetic in his views, he was polished in manners, and wise in counsel. As an evidence of his magnanimity and unselfishness, he headed petitions to the legislature, protesting against special laws for the benefit of any particular class of physicians—favoring equal privileges to all who have skill in medicine, no matter how or where acquired.

Maj. Richard Rooney died in Milwaukee, Jan. 6th, at the age of forty-

seven years. He settled in that city in 1854. He served for a short time as lieutenant in the Seventeenth regiment; and was afterwards captain of the Sheridan Guards, and major in the State militia. He served several years as school commissioner from the Third Ward, and county treasurer in 1875 and 1876.

Capt. Alexander Lowrie died in Jefferson, Vernon County, January 8th, at the age of forty-one years. Born in New York, he was brought as a boy to Wisconsin; enlisted as a private at the outbreak of the war, in the Sixth Wisconsin, which formed a part of the famous Iron Brigade, serving till the end of the war. He received wounds at Bull Run to attest the honorable service he rendered his country, and rose to the head of his company. He was chosen sheriff of Vernon County in 1874. He was engaged in various business operations, and highly respected.

Mrs. Frances P. Irwin, of Green Bay, died at Kenosha, Jan. 11th, at the age of seventy years. She was born at Ballston Springs, N. Y., Nov. 8th, 1809, coming to Green Bay in 1826 with her kinsman, Capt. Henry Smith of the army, and shortly after married Col. A. J. Irwin, a prominent pioneer and citizen of that place.

Nathan Chappell died at Lyons, Walworth Co., Jan. 13th, at the great age of ninety-six years. He was a soldier and pensioner of the War of 1812.

Prof. Samuel Gardner died when on a visit to Detroit, Jan. 15th, aged sixty-three years. About 1848 he was a prominent business man of Milwaukee; he devised rock-crushers for the mines, and other machinery. Devoting his attention to electricity, he became so proficient in the science as to attain the position of government electrician, which he filled for several years, and at the time of his death.

Dr. Walter Crocker, an old physician of Eau Galle, died there, Jan. 15th. He was one of the early settlers of the Chippewa Valley.

Hon. James Kenealey Sr., died in Erin, Washington Co., Jan. 17th, aged sixty-seven years. He had resided in the county thirty-five years; and was a member of the legislature in 1858 and 1866.

Dr. Samuel W. Wilson died at the Soldiers' Home, near Milwaukee, Jan. 25th. He early settled at Racine, and became the medical partner of Dr. P. R. Hoy. In June, 1861, he was appointed second assistant surgeon of the Fourth Wisconsin, and first assistant near the close of the year, and regimental surgeon, in March, 1864. He served with his regiment in all its marches, battles, and vicissitudes till May, 1866—nearly five years. Poor and broken in health, he was for several years an inmate of the Soldiers' Home, on duty in the hospital. He was a physician and surgeon of learning and skill, and a faithful attendant on his regiment during its various fortunes.

Hon. Jared Warner died at Patch Grove, Grant County, Feb. 4th, at the age of sixty-eight years. He was born in eastern Ohio in 1811, and settled in Wisconsin in 1838, and built the first pine sawmill in Grant County. He represented his district in the legislature of 1861.

Hon. Erastus W. Drury, an old and distinguished citizen of Fond du Lac, died in that city, Feb. 8th. He settled in that place in 1847, having migrated from Middlebury, Vt., where he published a Democratic paper, and served two terms as postmaster. He became a prominent lawyer at Fond du Lac, and served several terms as alderman, and member of the board of education. He was twice a candidate for circuit judge, once against A. W. Stowe, and once against T. O. Howe, and each time defeated by only a very small majority.

Samuel B. Keene died at Hurricane Grove, Grant Co., Feb. 10th, in his eighty-third year. Born in Homer, N. Y., June 11th, 1797, after residing ten years in Indiana, he settled in Grant County, Wis., in 1834. He was a worthy pioneer.

Mrs. Jennie Williams, widow of Captain Asad Williams, died at Whitewater, Feb. 11th, in her ninety-ninth year. She was born in Franklin Co., Mass., Sept. 27th, 1781; and after residing many years in Herkimer and Madison counties, N. Y., removed to Wisconsin in June, 1839, and survived her husband sixteen years. When in her ninety-sixth year, she knit forty pairs of socks.

Jacob Gesalle, or Sell, as he was more generally known, died at Waupaca, Feb. 12th, in his ninety-sixth year. He was an old French veteran, born near Strassburg, France, Jan. 10th, 1785, serving in many battles under the great Napoleon, including Waterloo, and some of those of the Austrian and Russian campaigns—sharing in the terrible winter retreat of the French army from Moscow. He came to this country in 1831, and resided in Waupaca County over twenty-five years.

Hon. H. W. Fries died at Richland Center, Feb. 14th. He was a native of Pennsylvania, of German descent, and had been county judge of Richland County ten years.

Mrs. Sanford Brown died in the town of Walworth, Feb. 14th, in her ninetieth year, her husband surviving her in his ninety-first year.

John G. Dickhoff died in Calamus, Dodge County, Feb. 15th, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. He was a Waterloo veteran, of Blucher's command. At the age of seventy-four, he cut one hundred cords of wood on a contract.

Charles T. Hawley accidentally shot himself, from which he died, at Milwaukee, February 17th, in his thirty-ninth year. Mr. Hawley was a ripe scholar, and superior botanist, and especially interested himself in the flora of Wisconsin—an early friend and student of the late learned scientist, I. A. Lapham. He would make occasional trips through uninhabited portions of the State for the purpose of selection and observation; going to the head-waters of some principal river, and floating down the stream in his canoe, stopping whenever he wished, and penetrating inland to accomplish the object of his researches. Returning home with new and interesting botanical treasures, he would publish the results anonymously in some city paper. He contributed to magazines and reviews ably written articles upon the origin of our race. His death was a loss to Wisconsin and science.

Noah Newell died at Janesville, February 19th, in his eighty-first year. He was born at Bradford, Vt., July 6, 1799, and settled in Janesville in 1836.

Joseph Holden died at Heart Prairie, February 22d, at an advanced age. He was a Walworth County pioneer, having settled there in 1837.

Joseph Bonham died at Hurricane Corners, Grant County, February 23d, in his seventy-ninth year. He was born in Wythe County, Va., April 19, 1801; and after residing in Tennessee and Missouri, he came to the lead mine region in the spring of 1827. He did not bring his family until 1834; he devoted much of his life to mining.

Daniel F. Kimball died at Janesville, February 25th, in the seventy-second year of his age. He settled in Janesville in 1838, was the first postmaster there, and the oldest member of the Rock County bar, having been admitted the first term of the Territorial district court, held in Rock County, by the late Judge David Irwin, in 1839, when he was also appointed district attorney *pro tem.*

Hon. Nathaniel W. Dean died in Madison, February 28th, in his sixty third year. He was born in Raynham, Bristol County, Mass., September 17, 1817—descended from one of the old and noted families of New England. After residing four years in Michigan, and a short period in Illinois, Mr. Dean settled at Madison in 1842, engaging in mercantile business. He was a member of the legislature in 1857, and served several years as a regent of the State University. He was a man of much public spirit and enterprise.

Booth B. Davis died at Elkhorn, February 29th, at the age of seventy years. He was a pioneer of 1837. It is related of him that while hauling flour to Fort Winnebago, in the winter of 1838–39, he lost his way during a terrible storm, and after wandering all day and night he abandoned his load, and fastening himself to the yoke of one pair of his oxen, succeeded in reaching a house alive, but so badly frozen that both feet had to be amputated to save his life. Yet with his characteristic energy, he became one of the solid men of Walworth County.

Henry Mallory died at Whitewater, March 5th, at the age of eighty years. He was a native of Norwich, Conn., and a pioneer of Wisconsin.

James H. Loomis, an old settler, died at Summit, March 5th, aged eighty years.

Col. Hugh Lee died at Beloit, March 11th, in his seventy-eighth year. He was born in Northumberland, England, in 1803, and was a schoolmate of George Stephenson, the eminent civil engineer. He came to the United States in 1815, and was a contractor on the Delaware and Chesapeake ship canal in 1834. Locating at Beloit in 1842, he was in later years engaged on various railroads, and surveyed the Sturgeon Bay ship canal.

Mrs. Sarah Divers died in Byron, Fond du Lac County, March 11th, at the age of eighty-eight years. She drew a pension as the widow of a soldier of the War of 1812, and had been a member of the Methodist church for sixty-two years.

Bartholomæus Kramer died in Milwaukee, March 14th, aged ninety years. He was a native of the Prussian-Rhine province, and at the age of sixteen entered the army of Napoleon, serving seven years, and participating in the disastrous Russian campaign. In 1813, he joined the Prussian army; emigrated to this country in 1817, settling in Milwaukee in 1846.

Mrs. Sarah Thomas died in Granville, Milwaukee County, March 14th, at the age of seventy-five years. She settled there in 1839, and survived her husband, Joseph R. Thomas, three years.

Mrs. Electa Scarrett died at St. John's Home, Milwaukee, March 15th, at the age of ninety-three years. She was a native of Lanesboro, Mass., and had resided in and near Milwaukee for thirty-five years.

Hon. Theodore Conkey died at Appleton, March 17th, in his sixty-first year. He was born at Canton, St. Lawrence County, New York, December 11th, 1819. He came west in 1841, settling at Fond du Lac, and engaged in surveying government lands, when the service was fraught with many privations and dangers. He located at Appleton in 1848. He served in the State senate in 1851–52, and served in the assembly in 1857. In 1861, he raised a company and joined the Third Wisconsin Cavalry, serving till the end of the war, in Missouri, Southern Kansas, and on the plains, fighting guerillas and repelling rebel raids. Before the close of the war, he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel of his regiment, and was subsequently tendered an honorable position in the regular army, which he declined. He owned at Appleton one of the largest merchant mills in the State.

Joseph Cary, of Milwaukee, died at Chicago, March 18th, at seventy-two years of age. Born in Litchfield, Herkimer County, New York, March 18th, 1808, he settled in Milwaukee in 1836, where he became a well-known business man.

Hon. Francis Heubschmann died in Milwaukee, March 21st, at the age of sixty-three years. He was born in Thuringa, Germany, studied medicine at Jena, and settled in Milwaukee in 1842. He was a member of the first constitutional convention in 1846; in 1848 a Cass presidential elector; in 1851–52 a member of the State senate; and from 1853 to 1857 he was superintendent of Indian affairs for the Northern District, comprising New York, Michigan, and Wisconsin. In 1862, on the death of Senator Charles Quentin, he was chosen to fill the unexpired term, and a full term in the senate in 1871–72. He also served in the common council.

Crowell Bartlett, a pioneer of Jefferson County, Wis., died at Quincy, Mich., where he had resided for the last few years with his children, March 21st, at an advanced age. He was a native of New Hampshire, a grandson of Josiah Bartlett, one of the signers of the declaration of independence, and living awhile in western New York, settled in Milford, Jefferson County, in 1849.

Hon. Anson C. Allen died in Milwaukee, March 23d, in his forty-third year. He was born in Rochester, N. Y., Feb. 25, 1838, and was a member of the assembly in 1878, and a warm supporter of Hon. M. H. Carpenter for U. S. senator.

Hon. Matthew West died in Winnebago County, March 26th, aged seventy-nine years. He was a native of New York, representing Seneca County in the legislature of that State in 1843, and filling other positions there of public trust. He resided in Wisconsin the past thirty years.

F. Burkhard died at Green Bay, March 29th, aged about forty-four years. He was born in Bavaria in 1836, but had resided in Green Bay since his childhood, and was publisher of the *Concordia* newspaper.

Miss Lavinia Goodell died at Milwaukee, March 30th, at the age of forty-one years. A native of Utica, N. Y., when quite young she assisted her father in editing an anti-slavery paper, and publicly aided in all efforts tending to the elevation of her sex. She was at one time connected with the editorial staff of *Harper's Bazaar*. In 1874 she returned to Wisconsin, studying law at Janesville. Her application to be admitted to practice in the supreme court at Madison in 1879, and her able argument in her own behalf, attracted wide attention. Her plea was granted. During her brief career in the profession, she proved her capacity and industry to make a successful member of the bar.

Hon. John K. Williams died at Shullsburg, April 4th, at the age of fifty-eight years. He was a native of Pennsylvania, and settled in Shullsburg in 1846; was a member of the legislature in 1850; chief clerk of the State senate in 1852–53; clerk of the circuit court of Lafayette County, 1855–56, and regent of the State University in 1876. He was a prominent member of the Masons and Odd Fellows.

Hon. Samuel S. Brannan died at Portage, April 5th, in his forty-sixth year. He was born at Silver Creek, Chautauqua Co., N. Y., Feb. 2d, 1835; came to Wisconsin with his parents in 1849, and the next year settling at Portage; footing it to California in 1853, returning in 1856. He was elected city marshal in 1860, alderman in 1861, 1864 and 1868; frequently a member of the county board; in 1871 and 1872 mayor of Portage; in 1873, member of assembly, and postmaster at Portage at the time of his death. He was many years one of the proprietors of the Portage *State Register*.

Col. David S. Vittum died at Baraboo, April 10th, in the sixtieth year of his age. He was a native of New Hampshire, and had lived in Wisconsin over thirty years. He represented Sauk County in the State senate in 1853–54. He raised a company of cavalry at the beginning of the war, joining Barstow's Third Cavalry, serving till 1865, when he was mustered out as lieutenant-colonel. He was grand treasurer of the Masonic order in the State, and was a prominent and wealthy citizen.

Jabez H. Hunter died in Clinton, Nebr., April 17th, about forty years of age. He published awhile the *Times*, a Milwaukee evening paper. He was chief clerk of the Wisconsin assembly of 1878, and removed the following year to Nebraska.

Hon. Denison Worthington died at Denver, Colorado, April 23d, at the age of seventy-three years. He was born in Connecticut in 1807, settled in Waukesha County in 1847, serving in the assembly in 1851 and 1854, and in

the senate from 1855 to 1861, and was chairman of the investigating committee of the La Crosse land grant scandal. He was secretary of the Madison Insurance Company from 1861 to 1874. He was an influential and useful member in the legislature.

Rev. Milton Wells died in Palmyra, April 28th. He had preached to various Congregational churches in Wisconsin for over thirty-seven years.

Hon. Wm. H. Hiner died at Fond du Lac, April 29th, in his fifty-ninth year. He was born at Bedford, Pa., Dec. 16th, 1821; and settled at Fond du Lac in 1850. He was State senator for three terms, from 1872 to 1877, and during the last term was president of the senate. In 1876, he was a presidential elector, and held many local offices in his city and county. Towards the close of life he was unfortunate in business, but none who knew him ever believed him at heart a dishonest man. He was genial in his intercourse with all, and an able and useful legislator.

Charles A. Single died at Wausau, April 30th, aged fifty-eight years. He was a native of England, settling in Milwaukee in 1836, and in 1844 at Wausau. He held various local offices, and served for a period in the war.

Gen. Brewster Randall died at Janesville, May 6th, at the age of seventy-four years. He was formerly a resident of Ohio, a student in the law office of J. R. Giddings, and served in the Ohio senate, of which he was president. He had resided at Janesville about twenty years.

Henry D. Starin died at Whitewater, May 13th, aged seventy-three years. He had resided there forty years, and was noted for his many eccentricities of character.

Mrs. Mott, mother of Wesley Mott, died at Winchester, Winnebago County, May 14th, aged seventy-seven years. Her husband having been a soldier in the War of 1812, she enjoyed a pension from the government.

Albert G. Marsh died at La Crosse, May 18th, aged seventy-three years. He was a resident of Waukesha from 1840 to 1857, when he removed to La Crosse.

Henry D. Bath died at Columbus, June 8th, in the prime of life. He was a native of New York; came when young to Wisconsin, and was local editor at one time of the Milwaukee *News*, and in 1868 established the Columbus *Democrat*. His compositions were frequently of the highest order.

Solomon Brown died in the town of Sheboygan Falls, June 9th, at the age of eighty-three years. He was a soldier and prisoner of the War of 1812.

Col. Solomon Lamparel died at Darlington, June 14th, aged seventy-six years. He was a native of Massachusetts, settling on Spoon River, Ill., in 1832, working at Fort Dearborn, Chicago, in 1833–34, and removing to Willow Springs, in Lafayette Co., in 1845.

Mrs. Eva Dygert died at Oakland, Fond du Lac Co., June 15th at the age of ninety-two years.

Col. Charles Wolcott died at Oshkosh, June 17th, in his 72d year. He was born at Hartford, Conn., Feb. 10th, 1809. He was an editor awhile in Pittsburgh; afterwards studied and practiced law in Ohio, serving

in both branches of the legislature in that State. He raised a regiment of cavalry for the Mexican War, but peace taking place, they were discharged before marching. He was auditor of the postoffice department under Polk's administration. He settled at Oshkosh in 1850.

Enoch Isham died at Delavan, June 21st, in his ninety-third year. He was born in Connecticut, July 26, 1787. He moved from Chenango Co., N. Y., to Walworth Co., Wis., in 1846.

Gen. Luther A. Cole died at Denver, Colorado, June 22d, in his sixty-eighth year. He was born at Charleston, Vermont, Nov. 1st, 1812, and settled at Watertown, Wis., Dec. 27th, 1836. He built a mill there, and engaged largely in business, and served in the legislature in 1859. In after years, he spent part of his time at Denver, where he had property interests, and part at Watertown.

Mrs. Amanda M. Bull died at Racine, June 22d, at the age of eighty-three years. Born at South East, Duchess Co., N. Y., Jan. 9th, 1797, married to De Grove Bull, and removed from Cayuga Co., N. Y., in 1846, to Racine.

Mrs. Emily Whitney died at Green Bay, June 29th, at the age of sixty-seven years. She was born at Whitehall, N. Y., June 11th, 1813, and was married to Capt. Daniel M. Whitney, 2d Aug., 1837, when she settled at Green Bay—her husband having preceded her in residence there three or four years.

Mrs. Ann Knight died at Whitewater, July 12th, at the great age of one hundred years.

Rev. Spencer Carr died at Parkersville, Kansas, Sept. 13th, at the age of seventy years. He had been a pioneer Baptist preacher of La Crosse valley, a writer on the history and settlement of that region, and went to Kansas in 1871.

Col. Stephen V. R. Ableman died at Ableman, Sauk Co., July 17th, in his seventy-first year. He was born in Bethlehem, Albany Co., N. Y., Dec. 25th, 1809. His father, a native of Germany, was a soldier of the Revolution. Early removing to Albany, the son received a good education, rose from a drummer to a colonel in the militia, and a city alderman; in 1845 he moved to Milwaukee and in 1850 to Sauk County. In 1853, he was appointed by President Pierce U. S. marshal for Wisconsin, serving five years. He did much by his enterprise in building up the region in which he lived. He was almost a giant in size and strength, but genial and kind-hearted to all.

Rev. John Kitchell died at Wrightstown, July 23d, in his eightieth year. He had lived in Wisconsin over twenty years, and been a member of the order of Odd Fellows fully forty years.

Rev. W. A. Potter, pastor of the Baptist church at Monticello, died at that place July 24th, aged sixty years. He had been a preacher twenty-eight years, and a resident of Wisconsin since 1859.

Hon. John Bosustow died in Yorkville, Racine Co., July 25th, in his sixty-third year. He was born in Paul, Cornwall Co., England, Dec. 28th, 1817, and settled in Yorkville in 1844. He held various local offices, including

the chairmanship of the county board, and served in the assembly of 1880.

Alson Fitch died in Somers, Kenosha Co., July 25th, at the age of seventy years. He came to Wisconsin in 1836.

Ervin Hopkins died at Madison, July 25th, in his ninety-third year. He was born in Pawlet, Vt., Jan. 31st, 1788; and graduated at Middlebury College in 1808. He was large in size, with a large active brain. He was unambitious, and lived a quiet, secluded life. He resided some twenty years in Wisconsin, and was father of ten children, among them the late Judge James C., and Hon. B. F. Hopkins, Mrs. Horace Rublee, and Mrs. A. S. Frank.

John J. Van Matre died in Fayette, July 26th, at the age of seventy-seven years. He settled in Wisconsin in 1836.

Capt. D. W. Baldwin died at Omro, July 27th. He came to Wisconsin in 1848, and was a noted boat captain on Fox River and Lake Winnebago.

Judge E. G. Wheeler died at Yankton, sometime in July, aged sixty-eight years. He was a pioneer of Sauk County, Wisconsin, and was county judge in early times. He removed from Reedsburg to Yankton in 1874.

John Gregory died in Milwaukee, August 4th, at the great age of ninety-six years. He was born near Listowel, County Kerry, Ireland, in 1784. He received a good education, and became a fine classical scholar. He was devoted to natural science and mechanics; but he spent his life in civil engineering. At one time he was president of the Dublin Academical Institute, and afterwards president of the Dublin College of Engineering, Mining, and Agriculture. He was the author of a work on *The Philosophy and Practice of Arithmetic;* and, at the instance of the board of education, prepared a series of text-books for the use of the Irish National Schools. He subsequently had published a work on *Engineering and Surveying.* He was tendered, but did not accept, the position of royal astronomer, and inspector of Irish railroads; and he declined an offer from the Emperor Nicholas of Russia, to superintend the construction of railroads in that empire. But for a sudden change of administration, he would have been knighted for his many scientific services. He came to Milwaukee in 1850, and two years subsequently published an important work on the *Industrial Resources of Wisconsin*, of which a new edition was afterwards issued. Tall in his person, and of commanding appearance, he was not only a striking, but a remarkable character.

Capt. B. F. Hollinbeck, one of the oldest settlers of Ripon, died Aug. 14th, at the age of eighty-four. His wife, at the age of seventy-six, preceded him to the spirit world twenty-four hours.

Ole Bull, of world-wide fame as a musician, died at Bergen, Norway, Aug. 16th, in his seventy-first year. He was born in Bergen, Feb. 5th, 1810. Having been united in marriage with the daughter of Hon. J. G. Thorp, then of Madison, in 1870, he spent a portion of his time in that city, and took a special interest in the department of Norwegian literature of the Wisconsin University.

Peter V. Dane died at Appleton, Aug. 16th, in his fortieth year. He was a

native of Nova Scotia. He served in the Twenty-First Wisconsin Volunteers in the war, during which his health was seriously impaired.

Amasa Andrews died at Hudson, where twenty-seven years before he erected the first framed house, August 17th, in the ninetieth year of his age.

John Lane died at Johnson's Creek, Aug. 17th, at the age of eighty-one years. He was a native of England, and had been a resident of Jefferson County for thirty-three years.

Mrs. Nancy Osborn, who long resided on Bear Creek, Richland County, died at her granddaughter's, at Lawrence, N. J., Aug. 20th, in her ninety-fifth year.

Hon. Benjamin M. Coates died in Boscobel, Aug. 26th, in his sixty-first year. He was born at New Harmony, Ind., Sept. 8th, 1819, and settled in Grant County, Wis., 1837. He was a member of the assembly in 1869, and 1875, and U. S. collector from 1870 to 1873. He was a leader of the bolting Republicans who supported Hon. Angus Cameron for U. S. senator in 1875.

Mrs. Elizabeth Atkinson died at Appleton, Aug. 26th, at the venerable age of eighty-six years.

Hon. Miner Strope died at Plover, Aug. 31st, in his seventy-fifth year. He was born in Luzerne County, Pa., May 11th, 1806, descending from a noted Revolutionary family. After practicing in the legal profession in New York State for a long time he settled at Plover in 1850, where he filled the position of county judge for many years.

John H. Craig died at Prescott, near the close of August, in his sixty-third year. He was an old settler in the St. Croix valley, having located at Point Douglas in 1849.

Chester Cook, an old and respectable citizen, died at Harmony, Rock County, Sept. 2d, in his eighty-third year.

Mrs. Sarah Bill Calkins died in Oconomowoc, Sept. 3d, in her ninety-fifth year. She was born in Cornwallis, Nova Scotia, Oct. 11th, 1785. Marrying James Calkins, they removed first in 1823, to western New York, and in 1843 to Milwaukee. Col. E. A. Calkins is her son.

Mrs. Maria Bintliff, mother of Gen. James Bintliff, died at Janesville, Sept. 3d, in her eighty-fifth year. She was a native of Yorkshire, England, removing to Oneida County, N. Y., in 1841, and some years subsequently to Monroe, Wisconsin.

Oliver Cheesboro died at Green Lake, Sept. 5th, at the age of ninety-two years.

Mrs. Wm. Dickson, a pioneer of Fox Lake, died at that place, Sept. 5th, in the ninety-sixth year of her age.

Isaac Merriam, a pioneer of Columbus, died at that place, Sept. 6th, in his sixty-ninth year.

Rev. Thomas Keenan, pastor of the Catholic church at Portage, died in that city, Sept. 6th, at the age of fifty years. Born in County Tyrone, Ireland, April 15th, 1829, he emigrated to this country in 1844, coming to Milwaukee in 1852, he was ordained in 1854.

Mrs. Sarah Doolittle, the venerable mother of Ex-Senator J. R. Doolittle, died in Racine, Sept. 7th, in her eighty-ninth year. She was a native of Washington Co., N. Y., and had been a widow since 1846.

Thomas Hess, a well-known German musician, formerly of Milwaukee, died at Madison, Oct. 9th, in his eighty-seventh year.

Mrs. Lois Safford Robinson died in Menasha, Sept. 14th, in her eightieth year. She was born at Royalton, Vt., Dec. 4th, 1800, and settled at Menasha in 1856.

Hon. Carl Hoeflinger died at Wausau, Sept. 21st, at the age of forty-eight years. He was born in Wurtemberg, Sept. 13th, 1832, and graduated at the College of Ehingen. Coming to Wisconsin in 1854, and after residing awhile at Fond du Lac, he removed to Marathon County, where, beside serving in minor offices, he was five times chosen county treasurer, commencing in 1858; and was elected a member of the assembly in 1862 and 1870.

Patrick Guerin, a pioneer of Milwaukee of 1839, and an ex-alderman, died in that city Oct. 5th.

Hon. Columbus Germain died at Beaver Dam, Oct. 8th, at the age of fifty-three years. He was born in Rush, Monroe Co., N. Y., in 1827, settling in Milwaukee in 1843, and in 1846 in Dodge County. He was repeatedly elected sheriff of that county, assistant sergeant-at-arms of the assembly in 1874, and a member of that body in 1876.

Gen. Luther E. Webb died at La Crosse, Oct. 9th, at the age of fifty-three years. Born at Meriden, Conn., in 1827, he settled at La Crosse in 1856. He was appointed by President Lincoln, in 1861, agent of the Chippewa Indians at Bayfield, serving till 1867, when he was appointed commissioner of Indian affairs for New Mexico; which, however, he did not accept, but engaged in an Arkansas railroad scheme, and other large enterprises.

Mrs. Clarissa G. Pratt died at Janesville, Oct. 11th, at the age of eighty-five years. She had resided there nearly thirty years.

Wm. D. Brown died in Marinette, Oct. 11th, in the eighty-first year of his age. He was a native of Newport, R. I., where he was born in 1800.

Jesse D. Searls died in Fennimore, Oct. 13th, in his seventy-eighth year. He removed from eastern New York to Racine County in 1852, and afterwards to Fennimore.

John Phillips died at Neenah, Oct. 14th, at the age of eighty years.

Mrs. W. W. Curtis, daughter of Elder Harris, of Evansville, died in Japan, Oct. 14th, on her twenty-fourth birthday, where she had been laboring three years as a missionary.

Dr. A. P. Barber died at Oshkosh, Oct. 15th, in his sixty-first year. He was a native of Franklin Co., Vt., and settled in Oshkosh in 1857, where he deservedly gained a high reputation in his profession.

Hon. Edward G. Ryan died at Madison, Oct. 19th, in the seventieth year of his age. Born at New Castle House, County Meath, Ireland, Nov. 13th, 1810; he received a good education, and commenced the study of the law; but before completing it, he came, in 1830, to New York, where he resumed

his studies, supporting himself by giving private instruction. Admitted to the bar in 1836, he located in Chicago in the fall of that year, where he remained in the practice of his profession, and editing a paper till 1842. While in Chicago, he served as prosecuting attorney in 1840–41. Locating in Racine, he represented that county in part, in 1846, in the first constitutional convention, and was one of the ablest and most conspicuous members of that body. In 1848, he was a member of the national convention that nominated James K. Polk, for president; and, on his election, sought the appointment of a Territorial governor, naming Oregon as his choice. Failing in this effort, he removed in 1849, to Milwaukee, where he took high rank in his profession, and a leading part in the politics of the State. The great effort of his life was the part he took in the great impeachment trial of Judge Levi Hubbell, in 1853. His criticisms on opposing counsel were terrific, and in his assaults upon Judge Hubbell, and in his invective, he was perfectly furious. Three years later he shared in the celebrated Bashford-Barstow controversy for the governorship. In 1870, 1871 and 1872, he served as city attorney of Milwaukee; and when Chief Justice Dixon resigned his position on the bench, in 1874, Gov. Taylor appointed Mr. Ryan to fill the vacancy—a position he had coveted, rather than expected, for many years. He was the following year elected without opposition, to fill the balance of Judge Dixon's unexpired term—even Judge Hubbell supporting him for the high position. Though a man of high temper, and not always wise in his intercourse with others, yet it is conceded on all hands that Chief Justice Ryan was a man of brilliant intellect, and an honest and profound jurist.

Capt. E. H. Liscum died at Richland Center, Oct. 22d, aged forty-eight years. During the war, he was a captain first in the Thirty-Third, and then in the Forty-Ninth Wisconsin Regiment.

Rev. James Young died at Weyauwega, at the age of seventy, towards the close of October; he lacked but two votes, many years before, of being elected bishop of Maryland.

Mrs. Phoebe Post, who died at Black River Falls, some time in October, had attained the great age of ninety-seven years.

Mrs. Polly Liskum, who had lived with her husband over sixty years, died at Hebron, Jefferson Co., Nov. 1st, in the eighty-sixth year of her age.

Hon. Roger H. Mills died at Beloit, Nov. 11th, aged sixty-seven years. He was born in New Hartford, Conn., where he engaged in the practice of law; he held several important positions, among them county judge, and secretary of State. Settling in Beloit in 1854, he at one time was mayor of the city, and a trustee of Beloit College. He was an able, learned, and conscientious lawyer, and in every sense a good man.

Anders Anderson died in Pleasant Prairie, Dane Co., Nov. 18th. He came to Wisconsin from Norway in 1844, settling first in Whitewater, and in 1852 at Pleasant Prairie. He was a worthy and respected citizen, the father of Hon. John A. Johnson, of Madison, and Col. O. C. Johnson, of Beloit.

John Sweeney died in the town of Fayette, Nov. 20th, aged eighty-four years.

Prof. James C. Watson died at Madison, Nov. 23d, in his forty-third year. He was born in Southwold, in now Elgin County, Canada West, Jan. 28th, 1838. He was educated at Michigan University, serving in his junior and senior years as assistant professor of astronomy, and graduating with high honors. In 1859, he was made full professor of astronomy; and, in 1860, he was chosen director of the observatory, and professor of physics and mathematics. He at once took the front rank of American astronomers, contributing freely to American and foreign astronomical journals; and, in 1860, he issued his *Popular Treatise on Comets*, which he subsequently almost entirely rewrote. During the first decade of his directorship, Prof. Watson discovered nineteen asteroids, for which, in 1870, he received the gold medal of the French Academy of Science. In 1868, he published his *Theoretical Astronomy*, which has since been used as a text-book in most of the colleges of this country, while translations have been extensively adopted in French and German universities. In 1869, he went to Iowa to observe an eclipse of the sun, and the following year on a similar service to Sicily; and, in 1874, he went to China, at the head of the U. S. expedition to observe the transit of Venus. Returning, he visited Egypt. In 1878, he observed the eclipse of the sun, from the government station in the Rocky Mountains. Gov. Washburn, and the regents of the Wisconsin University, induced him to accept the directorship of the Washburn Observatory. Removing to Madison in July, 1879, he had hardly a fitting opportunity of adding to his fame in the field of astronomical science when he was suddenly summoned to the higher life, where he can behold God's wondrous works, without telescopes or instruments, in all their grandeur and glory.

James W. Churchill died at Lake Mills, Nov. 28th, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. Born in Genesee County, N. Y., April 8th, 1814, he settled at Lake Mills in 1853, where he was an honored and useful citizen, and the father of Mrs. J. L. Dudley, of Milwaukee, and Mrs. J. H. Keyes, of Watertown.

Hon. Julius P. Atwood died at Denver, Colorado, Nov. 30th, at the age of about fifty-five years. He was a native of Vermont, and came to Wisconsin in 1851, in company with Judge L. B. Vilas. He practiced law in Madison, filled a vacancy as county judge in 1854, and was an unsuccessful candidate for mayor of Madison, and afterwards for associate justice of the supreme court. Having been educated at Capt. Patridge's Military Institution, Norwich University, Vt., he was appointed lieut.-colonel of the Sixth regiment, but resigned on account of poor health a few months after. Residing subsequently in Chicago, he was there an unsuccessful candidate for a judicial position; he afterwards removed to Grand Rapids, Mich., and still later to Deadwood, in the Black Hills country, where he became a prominent member of the legal profession. He was a man of fine ability, a good lawyer, and a popular public speaker.

Hiram Rust, a pioneer of Monroe, Wis., died in that place, Dec. 10th, at the age of seventy-seven years.

Warner Hyde died at La Crosse, Dec. 11th, at the age of eighty-four years. A native of Connecticut, he served in the War of 1812; and came to Wisconsin in 1853, residing at Berlin until a year before his death.

V. R. Mean died in the town of Watertown, Dec. 17th, aged seventy-six years. He was a native of New York, and had resided on the farm were he died for thirty-five years.

James Reynolds died in Madison, Dec. 17th, in his twenty-fifth year. He was a native of Ireland, a promising young attorney, and had nearly served out his term as district-attorney of Dane County.

Seneca Hale died at Hale's Corners, Milwaukee Co., Dec. 22d, aged sixty-nine years. He settled there, in 1836, with his brother, Wm. Hale.

Joel Newell died in Berlin, Dec. 24th, in his ninety-first year. He was born in Charlton, Worcester Co., Mass., March 22d, 1790. He possessed considerable inventive genius, and invented quite a number of cooper's tools now in use. He had resided at different periods in Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Illinois, and finally Wisconsin. He was distinguished for his devotion to Free Masonry, with which he was connected for forty-six years, passing through many degrees. He led a life of great uprightness and humanity.

1881

Romanus Schnorrenberg, a native of Prussia, and a resident of Washington County since 1854, died in Addison, Jan. 2d, aged eighty years and one day.

Hon. George H. Williston died at Janesville, Jan. 9th, in his sixty-third year. He was born in Binghamton, N. Y., in 1818, and settled in Harmony, Rock Co., Wis., in 1837. In 1841, when elected register of deeds, he removed to Janesville, and served in that office five consecutive terms. He was a member of the common council. In 1847, and 1848, he was a member of the Territorial legislature, and in 1855 he served as a member of the assembly. From 1863 till 1870, he filled the office of city clerk.

Mrs. Deborah Fuller, widow of Hosea Fuller, died in Waukesha, Jan. 11th, at the age of eighty-seven years.

Hon. B. F. Gibbs, died in Trenton, Dodge Co., Jan. 12th, in his eighty-third year. He was one of the pioneers of that county, was several years a member of the county board, and in 1858 represented his district in the assembly.

Mrs. Huldah Bronson died at Grand Rapids, Jan. 12th, in her ninetieth year. She had been many years a resident of Wisconsin.

Mrs. Maria K. Loomis died at Oconomowoc, Jan. 13th, about eighty years old. She was well known to many of the pioneers of the State.

Hon. Mark Bump died at Black River Falls, Jan. 19th, aged seventy years. He was highly respected, and was county judge at the time of his death.

Hon. Sewall Smith died at East Troy, Jan. 23d, in his eightieth year. He was a native of Vermont, and settled in East Troy in 1841. He was a member of the first constitutional convention in 1846, and was a public spirited citizen.

Willis Steele died sometime in January, aged eighty-one years, in Pewaukee. He was a native of Canton, Conn., came to Wisconsin in 1855. He had voted for Monroe for president in 1820, and for Garfield in 1880.

Hon. Matt. H. Carpenter died in Washington, D. C., Feb. 24th. Born at Mooretown, Vt., Dec. 22, 1824, he was two years at West Point as a cadet from 1843 to 1845; read law with Hon. Paul Dillingham, and admitted to the bar in 1847, when he became an assistant in the office of Hon. Rufus Choate, of Boston. In 1848, he was admitted to practice in the supreme court of Massachusetts, and immediately thereafter located at Beloit, Wis. In 1852, he was elected district-attorney of Rock County; and in 1856 he was one of Gov. Barstow's counsel in his contest with Gov. Bashford. In 1858, he removed to Milwaukee. In 1869, he was elected to the U. S. senate, serving six years; and in 1879, he was again chosen to the senate. He was a master in oratory, and took rank with our foremost statesmen. "For a man," said the *Sunday Telegraph*, "who has occupied so distinguished a place in State and national affairs, the mere facts of his life and his education, the places of his residence, the incidents of his career, were notably small in number and of minor importance. But no man in the nation has lived so much in so short a time."

Father James M. Doyle died at Janesville, Feb. 26th, in his sixtieth year. He was a native of Ireland, and was well known throughout Wisconsin, having had charge of Catholic congregations at Whitewater, Portage, Waukesha, and Janesville. He was devoted and industrious in his ministerial labors.

Antoine Valley died in the town of Prairie du Chien, Feb. 28th, in the one hundred and fourth year of his age. He was born in St. Antoine, Canada, Nov. 4th, 1777. He settled at Prairie du Chien in 1854. He was the father of eighteen children—nine of whom survived him. He practiced total abstinence from alcoholic drink, and died while giving thanks for blessings received.

Granville Sherwood died in Beloit, March 1st, in his ninety-sixth year—the oldest man in Rock County, retaining his intellectual powers till within a few days of his death.

Dr. R. W. Bradlen, one of the worthy and esteemed physicians of Chippewa Falls, died at that place on the 1st of March. He was the high priest of his Masonic chapter.

Hon. John M. Read died at Louisville, Ky., while *en route* to the South for his health, March 9th, in his thirty-ninth year. He was born at Louisville, Nov. 3d, 1842, and was brought to Wisconsin in 1847. He was a printer by trade, and enlisted in the Fourteenth Wisconsin regiment, serving till the end of the war as a private, sergeant, and adjutant, participating in the battles of Shiloh, Corinth, Nashville, the assault on Vicksburg, on the Red River campaign, and in the movements around Mobile. He was wounded at Vicksburg and the Spanish Fort, and was taken prisoner at Corinth. After the war, he published a paper in Missouri awhile, but returned to Wis-

consin in 1867, settling at Kewaunee the following year, purchasing and publishing the Kewaunee *Enterprise*. After serving two terms as county superintendent, he served a term in the State senate; and was elected to the assembly in the fall of 1880, but resigned on account of ill-health.

Dr. George W. Burrall, one of the oldest practitioners of Iowa County, died at Dodgeville on the 9th of March.

Mrs. A. W. Farr died in Chicago, on the 10th of March, at the age of fifty-seven years. Her husband represented the Geneva district in the assembly of 1856. He became quartermaster of Barstow's Cavalry, and was killed by the guerilla Quantrell, at the massacre of Baxter Springs, Indian Territory, Oct. 6th, 1863. His widow after the war received a pension.

John Lewis died in Ixonia, Jefferson County, March 22d, aged twenty-four years, measuring only twenty-seven inches in height, and weighing only nineteen pounds; but persistently refused to exhibit himself in public.

Edward Beouchard died at Mineral Point, March 22d, in his seventy-seventh year. He was born in Montreal, Oct. 4th, 1804; and as early as 1816, when only twelve years of age, visited the Selkirk Colony on Red River, and thenceforward for many years shared in the explorations and Indian trade of the great Northwest. In 1832, he served under Gen. Dodge in the Black Hawk War. An account of his life and adventures, and especially of his connection with the Black Hawk War, may be seen in the seventh volume of the *Collections* of this Society.

Gen. John Crawford died at Wauwatosa, March 25th in his eighty-eighth year. He was born at Worcester, Mass., December 4th, 1792, and spent his earlier years as a sailor on the St. Lawrence. Settling in St. Lawrence County, New York, he was promoted through all grades from captain in the militia to major-general. He came to Milwaukee in 1836; was a member of the Territorial legislature in 1845; a member of the first constitutional convention; and a member of the assembly in 1854. In 1866 he was chosen supervisor at large for Milwaukee County, and held at different times several less important offices. He was a man of great integrity of character.

Benjamin Perry died in Madison, March 31st, at the age of eighty-eight years. He was a native of New York, served in the War of 1812, aided in repelling the British in their attack on Black Rock, on the Niagara frontier, and enjoyed a pension for his services.

Charles B. Stockman, a pioneer of Waukesha County of 1836, died at Mukwonago, sometime in March, aged seventy-seven years.

Wm. W. Freeman, late postmaster of Menasha, died at that place, April 1st, aged thirty-nine years. He served in the Third Wisconsin regiment during the war, sharing in twenty-three battles, and was wounded at the battle of Dallas, Ga., in the leg, May 26th, 1864, carrying the bullet with him to the grave. He was commissioned sergeant-major, Oct. 29th, 1864, first lieutenant May 20th, 1865, and brigade inspector, June 5th, 1865.

Samuel Woodworth died near Vermilion, Dak., April 9th, aged eighty-

four years. He settled in Wisconsin in 1829, and was an occupant of Blue Mounds Fort during the Black Hawk War.

Thomas C. Jones, editor of the *Democrat*, died at Watertown, May 3d, aged thirty-one years.

Hon. Volney French died at Kenosha, May 3d, at the age of seventy-one years. He was born in Maidstone, Vt., in 1810. After studying law in Rochester, N. Y., he settled at Kenosha in 1837. He was judge of Racine County before Kenosha was formed from it, from 1844 to 1848; and in 1875, he was appointed probate judge of Kenosha County to fill the vacancy caused by the death of J. W. Webster; and was, at one time, candidate on the Democratic ticket for State superintendent of public instruction. He was a vigorous writer for the press, and was editor of the Kenosha *Union* from 1875 to 1877. He had traveled extensively, having made two journeys to Europe of two years each.

Maj. Wm. A. Wheeler died at Middleton, Dane County, May 4th, in his sixty-seventh year. He was born in Fairfield Co., Conn., Oct. 3d, 1814, and became a millwright. He came to Madison in September, 1837. He was chosen the first assessor of Dane County in 1839, and subsequently county commissioner. In 1847, he was elected to the Territorial legislature; and, the same year, he was chosen a member of the second constitutional convention. In 1854, he was elected county treasurer, and filled numerous local offices. In 1863, he was commissioned by President Lincoln a captain and commissary, and served in the commissary department till the close of the war, when he was brevetted major. He built nearly all the early saw- and grist-mills of Dane County.

Hon. Abel Dunning died in the town of Madison, May 13th, in his seventy-first year. He was born in Webster, Monroe Co., N. Y., Feb. 17th, 1811, and settled in Madison, July 7th, 1839. He was a member of the first constitutional convention, in 1846. Not ambitious of public life, he devoted himself to farming.

Wm. Ott died in Watertown, May 24th, aged ninety-one years and twenty-one days. He was a native of Germany, and served under Napoleon in the great battles of Leipsic and Waterloo. He settled in Wisconsin in 1844. He and his companion celebrated their diamond wedding of sixty years.

Hon. Joseph Jackson, a native of Ireland, died at Oshkosh, May 31st, in his eightieth year. He first settled there in 1846; and was three terms mayor of the city, 1854, 1855, and 1857. He filled other offices of trust, among them chief of police from 1871 to 1879, justice of the peace from 1879 to 1881, when he was elected overseer of the poor. He was a man of integrity, and highly respected.

John Benson, a native of Ireland, died at Madison, June 1st, in his seventy-fourth year. He had served in the army in the Seminole and Mexican wars, and was a member of the Seventeenth Wisconsin regiment in the late war, receiving a serious wound in the service, when he joined the in-

valid corps. He has been in the employ of the State most of the time since the war about the capitol, and received a pension from the government.

Peter Chapman died in Cassville June 9th, in his eighty-first year. He was born in Hartford, Conn., Aug. 31st, 1800, and came to the lead mines in the spring of 1829. He built the first log cabin at Dubuque, and served faithfully during the Black Hawk War.

Mrs. Susanna Bogert died at Beaver Dam, June 11th, in her ninety-second year. She had resided there since 1855, and was the mother of Postmaster Bogert of that city.

Prof. Wm. Lehmann died in Hustisford, June 12th, in his eightieth year. He was born in Rhenish-Prussia, and educated at the universities of Bonn and Tubingen. He joined in early life the secret society of his country to promote liberal government in Germany; he was betrayed, tried, and convicted of constructive high treason in 1824, and condemned to sixteen years imprisonment in the fortress of Julich. Two years after, by the aid of his pupil, son of the commandant, he effected his escape, and came to the United States. He was a teacher awhile of languages in the high school, at Pittsfield, Mass.; and subsequently professor of ancient and modern languages in the University of Georgia at Athens, and among his pupils were Howell Cobb and Alex. H. Stephens. In 1848, he settled on a farm at Hustisford. He was a superior musician, maintained his scholastic attainments, and kept well abreast with the advanced thought of the age. Taking broad views of human life, its origin and destiny, he pitied those whose narrowness of mind unfitted them to comprehend either the one or the other.

Mrs. Lydia H. Rountree, wife of Gen. John H. Rountree, died at Platteville, June 16th, at the age of sixty-three years. She was a most estimable Christian lady.

Peter Bisset died in Milford, June 17th, in the one hundred and second year of his age. He was born in Canada, Sept. 18th, 1779; and participated on the British side in the War of 1812. He spent much of his life as a river pilot, and resided in Wisconsin some twenty-five years.

Whitcomb Phelps died at Onolaska, June 18th, in his eighty-sixth year. He had resided in Wisconsin since 1849.

Samuel T. Hoisington died in Dane township, June 20th, in his seventy-fourth year. He was a native of Vergennes, Vt., and when a child was taken to Buffalo, and escaped from the place, Dec. 30th, 1813, where it was burnt by the British, and his father killed in its defense. He settled in Wisconsin in 1850; and while residing in Jefferson County, he was supported by his friends and neighbors as a temperance candidate for the legislature.

Mrs. Betsy Harger, a relic of Abraham M. Harger, formerly of Jefferson Co., N. Y., died in Watertown, Wis., June 21st, aged ninety years.

Wm. Bradley, chief engineer of the fire department of Madison, was accidentally drowned there, June 25th, at the age of thirty-five years. He had served with much reputation during the war.

Hon. Joel Allen Barber died in Lancaster, June 28th, in his seventy-third year. He was born in Georgia, Franklin County, Vt., Jan. 17th, 1809, and graduated at the University of Vermont. After studying law, and practicing it awhile in his native State, he migrated in 1837 to Wisconsin, settling at Lancaster, Grant County. He was many years a member of the county board, having been five years its chairman; four years county clerk and for three terms district-attorney. In 1846, he was a member of the first constitutional convention; a member of the assembly in 1852, 1853, 1863 and 1864—of which he was the speaker in 1863. He was a member of the State senate in 1856 and 1857; and two terms, commencing in 1871, a member of Congress. In 1860, he was a presidential elector on the Lincoln ticket. He was an able lawyer, a faithful legislator, and an honest man.

Liberty Gould died in Merrimac, Sauk County, July 9th, at the age of seventy-one years. He had resided there since 1853.

Mrs. Howard Bosworth died in Milwaukee, July 20th, in her eighty-fifth year. She settled in that city with her husband in 1845, and had been a woman of note ever since.

Capt. Thomas Spencer died at Waupaca, July 26th, at the age of ninety-two years. He was born at Hartford, Conn., March 13th, 1789, and afterwards resided in Vermont and New York. Entering the service as a private in the War of 1812, he distinguished himself in the battles of Queenstown Heights and Lundy's Lane, and was promoted for bravery to a captaincy by Gen. Scott. He was stationed with sixty-five men to guard Saranac bridge, at Plattsburg; and tearing off the plank, he with his handful of men, posted behind trees where they could rake the structure, prevented the British army from crossing. This was considered a daring and hazardous feat. He settled in Waupaca County in June, 1850.

Col. Charles H. Lemar died at Shullsburg, Aug. 6th, where he was on a visit, in his sixty-second year. He was a native of Kentucky, and settling in the lead mine region forty years ago, he was appointed on the staff of Governor Dewey, with the rank of colonel. In 1854, while keeping a hotel at Scales' Mounds, during the cholera season of 1854, his whole family, boarders and help, were stricken down with the disease, nine dying in a few hours; and Dr. Azel P. Ladd, then recently retired from the office of State superintendent of public instruction, contracted the disease from them and died. Col. Lemar became a large stock-raiser in Wisconsin and Iowa.

Mrs. Polly Hull, widow of the late Lemuel Hull, first Episcopal clergyman in Milwaukee and founder of St. Paul's church, died in the town of Lake, August 7th, in the eighty-second year of her age. She was born in Stamford, Conn., April 19, 1800, and came to Milwaukee in 1841, her husband preceding her two years.

Benjamin Jones died at Manitowoc, August 11th, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. He was born in Massachusetts, January 24, 1795; his father early removed to New York. The son served during the whole of the War

of 1812–15. In 1833, he removed to Chicago, and, in June, 1836, he became the founder of Manitowoc, purchasing about 2,000 acres of land in that locality, and near there, and exerted himself to build up the town, of which he was the foster-father. He lost upwards of $100,000 in the effort to establish the Lake Michigan and Mississippi Railroad. He was a leader in every public improvement and every worthy charity.

Nelson O'Neal was found drowned at Bismarck, D. T., about August 18th, not far from sixty-five years of age. He resided many years in Wisconsin, having been a contractor on the Fox and Wisconsin canal, and of the Hospital for the Insane near Madison, and of the Eau Claire city hall and court-house. He resided at Portage, and was one of the proprietors of an addition to that city.

John P. Hume died at Chilton, Aug. 23d, in his forty-third year. He was born in Kings County, Ireland, June 11th, 1836; settled in Manitowoc in 1852, where he learned the printer's trade. In 1857, he established the Chilton *Times*, which he continued to publish as long as he lived. In the fall of 1858 he was chosen circuit clerk, which he filled for twenty years. He was one of Nature's noblemen.

Jenks Coman died in La Fayette, Walworth County, Aug. 26th, at the age of ninety-two years. He settled in that town in 1844.

Dr. James B. Bowen, of Madison, died in Boston, where he had gone for medical treatment, Aug. 27th, at the age of sixty-six years. He was born at Killingly, Conn., Aug. 19th, 1815; he graduated as a doctor of medicine in 1848, and settled at Madison in April, 1852. In 1871, he served as mayor of the city. He achieved marked success in his profession, and in the acquisition of wealth.

Rev. John Martin Henni, archbishop of Milwaukee, died in that city, Sept. 7th, at the age of seventy-six years. He was born in Switzerland in 1805; visiting Bishop Fenwick, of Ohio, at Rome, in 1829, he was induced to accompany him on his return to America. After a brief preparation at St. Joseph's College, at Bardstown, Ky., he was ordained to the priesthood. Serving as a missionary priest under Bishop Fenwick, he was elevated to the post of vicar-general of the see; and, in 1843, he was made bishop of Milwaukee, and entered upon his duties in May, 1844, and, in 1875, was named archbishop of Milwaukee. He was greatly beloved by his people.

Hon. John A. Smith died at Geneva Lake, Sept. 8th. He was a prominent lawyer, a member of the assembly in 1868 and 1869, and had filled numerous offices of honor and trust.

Dr. A. E. Story died at Summit, Waukesha County, Sept. 10th, at the age of seventy-eight years. He settled in that county in 1844, and held the office of town treasurer of Summit, without opposition, for the past fifteen years. He was one of the old land-marks, and highly respected by all.

Hon. Wm. Hull died at La Crosse, Sept. 15th, about sixty-seven years of age. He was born near Baton Rouge, La., in 1814, served as a second lieu-

tenant in the Florida War. His brother lost his life in a duel with a cousin, when Wm. Hull deliberately killed the latter, and fled to the lead mine region, in now Grant County. This was in 1838. He practiced his profession of law in Grant County, and subsequently at La Crosse. He was elected to the assembly in 1854, 1855 and 1856—in which latter year, he was chosen speaker. He was among those who accepted a *douceur* for his vote and influence in behalf of the La Crosse Railroad grant, which proved his political downfall. He was erratic and impractical, and in the latter part of his life he drowned his sorrows in drink.

Hon. Satterlee Clark died of apoplexy at Minneapolis, Sept. 20th, in his sixty-sixth year. He was born in Washington City, May 22d, 1816. He attended the Utica Academy awhile, and came West in 1828, serving as a sutler at Green Bay and Fort Winnebago until 1843. He early settled in Marquette County, which he represented in the assembly in 1849 and was a presidential elector in 1852; and subsequently locating at Horicon, he represented Dodge County in the State senate from 1862 to 1872, and served in the assembly in 1873. He was a delegate to the national Democratic convention in 1868, and in nearly every State Democratic convention until his death. He was for many years one of the officers and managers of the State Agricultural Society. He was a man of free and easy manners, thoroughly acquainted with the politics and leading men of the State, and possessed many genial qualities.

Judge P. G. Bowen died at Fort Atkinson, Sept. 20th. He was one of the oldest residents, a Mason of long standing, and had served as county judge.

Michael O'Brien died at Darien Sept. 24th, at the reputed great age of one hundred and eight years, and, it was said, he "never had a day's sickness."

Freeborn Sweet died in Albion, Dane County, Oct. 10th, in his seventy-third year. He was a native of Otsego County, N. Y., and settled in Albion in August, 1851—the first white inhabitant of that town.

Mrs. Julia A. Noyes died in Milwaukee, Oct. 25th, aged seventy-five years. She was a widow of Dr. Thos. Noyes, who settled in Milwaukee in 1836, where in early years he was a justice of the peace, went to California, and died there. Mrs. Noyes was an estimable lady, and a sister of Mrs. Alexander Mitchell.

Hon. Bartholomew Ringle died at Wausau, Oct. 27th, at the age of sixty-seven years. He was born at Ingweiler, Germany, Oct. 16th, 1814; settled in Wisconsin in 1846; and after residing two years in Washington County, he removed to Dodge County, and was postmaster at Herman six years, also town clerk, chairman of the board, and justice of the peace. In 1859, he removed to Wausau, Marathon County, where he was county judge over twenty years, clerk of the board of supervisors six years, president of the village, justice of the peace, police justice, and in 1877, mayor of the city. He was a member of the assembly in 1864, 1872, 1875, 1876 and 1877. He was a careful and useful man in all public positions.

Morgan L. Skinner died at Afton, Minn., November 30th, in his sixty-first year. He was born at Warsaw, N. Y., August 19th, 1821; he came to

Milwaukee in 1841, and became a teacher in the public schools, laboring in that capacity with great usefulness till 1854, when he embarked in active business operations.

John Mulligan died at Darlington, Dec. 16th, at the alleged great age of one hundred and seven years.

Milton Barlow, a resident of La Crosse since 1853, and a well-known business man and politician, died in that city, Dec. 27th.

Additions

Pages 228, 231, 232, and 262 refer to Sergt. Colin Campbell. He was a Mackinaw trader, joined the expedition against Prairie du Chien, and shared in its capture, and did himself great credit in repelling the Americans at Sauk Rapids, in September, 1814. He well deserves a more extended notice than the facts attainable permit us to give him.

Colin Campbell appears to have been the son of Archibald Campbell, formerly of Muff, Londonderry Co., Ireland, but long an Indian trader "between Mackinaw and the Mississippi," who died apparently at Mackinaw in 1808. Beside some children by a former marriage, Archibald Campbell had three sons and two daughters by an Indian woman—the sons were Duncan, Colin, and Scott Campbell; for whose education and their sisters, Mr. Campbell made provisions in his will; and expressed his wish that his boys should not learn trades, but should cultivate land, or gain a livelihood in some other way. His will was made on the St. Peter's River, in Dec., 1802, to which Duncan Graham, F. M. Dease, and R. Dickson were witnesses.[1]

Colin Campbell's education, whatever it was, was probably acquired at York, now Toronto, or Kingston, as suggested in his father's will; but he seems to have early engaged in the Indian trade, as his father had done before him. In November, 1820, we find in Neill's *History of Minnesota*, the United States officers had much difficulty in securing the surrender of the two Sisseton Dakotas, who had murdered two persons near Council Bluffs,

[1] We are indebted to Lieut. D. H. Kelton, U. S. A., Mackinaw, for a copy of Archibald Campbell's will, as preserved among the probate records.

on the Missouri. At length a council was held at Big Stone Lake, and the two guilty warriors surrendered. Colin Campbell, then a trader, was largely instrumental in pleading with the Dakotas to yield to the reasonable demands of the Americans. It was agreed that the culprits should go to the cantonment at St. Peter's, and deliver themselves up; but the aged father of one of them offered himself as a substitute for his son, which, according to Indian custom, was agreeable to the council. Col. Snelling received them, and thus reported the circumstances:

"The ceremony of delivery was conducted with much solemnity. A procession was formed at some distance from the garrison, and marched to the center of our parade. It was preceded by a Sussitong, bearing the British flag; the murderer and devoted chief followed, with their arms pinioned, and large splinters of wood thrust through them above the elbows, to indicate, as I understand, their contempt of pain and death. The relatives and friends followed, and on their way joined them in singing their death-song. When they arrived in front of the guard, the British flag was laid on a fire, prepared for the occasion, and consumed; the murderer gave up his medal, and both the prisoners were surrendered. The old chief I have detained as a hostage; the murderer I have sent to St. Louis, under a proper guard for trial, presuming it is a course you will approve.

"I am much indebted to Mr. Colin Campbell, the interpreter, for his great exertions in bringing this affair to a speedy issue. The delivery of the murderer is to be solely attributed to his influence over the Sussitongs."

What little we know of Colin Campbell is wholly to his advantage. He seems to have been a worthy, energetic and honorable man; and died, we believe, in the Sioux country, leaving half-breed descendants behind him.

Pages 293–96, Joseph Rolette. Since Mr. Brisbois' recollections of Rolette were put in type, some additional matter has been received from his only surviving daughter, Mrs. Emilie R. Hooe, of Washington City, and from Hon. Ira B. Brunson. Jean Joseph Rolette was born in Quebec, Sept. 24, 1781. His grandfather, John Joseph Rolette and family migrated from Normandy to Canada, when his son bearing the same name, the father of Jean Joseph Rolette, was twelve years of age. The elder Rolette was one of a company of Normandians who planted a colony on Canadian soil—Mrs. Hooe thinks the brave Montcalm was of the number. Many of the colony, disheartened and discouraged with the trials and privations connected with the settlement of an inhospitable wilderness, returned to Normandy; but the Rolette family, made of sterner stuff, remained permanently in the country.

Jean Joseph Rolette received a collegiate education in Quebec from the Jesuit Fathers; and subsequently engaged in business, first in Montreal, then awhile at Windsor, opposite Detroit, and finally located at Prairie du Chien, about 1801 or 1802. He at once became an enterprising Indian trader; and

was well established in business there when the Americans, in the spring of 1814, took possession of the place. Rolette was then apparently absent, probably at Mackinaw with his season's accumulation of pelts and furs; and joined Col. McKay's expedition for the recapture of Prairie du Chien. "Their commanding officer being too intoxicated to know how to act," as Mrs. Hooe states it, Rolette and other officers—for he seems to have had some rank in Anderson's company—devised the best plan of operations they could, under the circumstances; and for his good conduct, Rolette was offered a captaincy in the service, which he did not see fit to accept.

The fact of his activity in behalf of the British interests and operations in 1814, militated not a little against him with the Americans in after years. He quietly pursued his Indian trade, and made no opposition to the new order of things; yet Col. Talbot Chambers,[1] who seems to have been an arbitrary officer, while in command at Prairie du Chien, had Rolette's goods confiscated, and he himself exiled to an island in the Mississippi. Some American gentlemen, it is said, reported the case to Hon. John C. Calhoun, then secretary of war, who ordered his immediate release. This document is preserved by Mrs. Hooe, who it is to be hoped, will deposit it among the archives of our Historical Society.

Capt. Rolette continued to prosecute his Indian trade, with great enterprise, for many years. His operations extended from St. Louis and Prairie du Chien, to the far off Red River Settlement. His goods were brought direct from Montreal, through the lakes to Green Bay, thence up the Fox River, and down the Wisconsin, in a flotilla of Mackinaw boats, rowed by French-Canadians—then the only mode of traveling, and transporting goods, outside the frail Indian canoe. His trade had reached such great proportions, and his influence with the Indians had become so extensive, that small opposition traders failed in their efforts to supplant him; when John Jacob Astor, in 1820, made Capt. Rolette an offer to join him in the American Fur Company, which was accepted, and he placed in charge of the trade of that powerful monopoly in the Northwest. He continued in this position till 1836, when he was succeeded by the late Gen. Hercules L. Dousman.

He died at Prairie du Chien, Dec. 1st, 1842, in his sixty-second year, after over forty years residence at that place. His death was caused by apoplexy, superinduced by his long toils and exposures in the wilderness, and probably from too indulgent habits during the latter years of his life.

The frontier people, from the great influence he exerted on the trading operations of the country, denominated him "King Rolette;" while the Indians named him Zica, or Pheasant, on account of his fast traveling. He was a man of superior talents, and of good business qualities; generous to

[1] See Judge Lockwood's account of Col. Chamber's arbitrary treatment of Michael Brisbois, Sr., vol. ii, *Wis. Hist. Collections*, pp. 128-29; Judge Lockwood stating, that Rolette was obliged to spend a winter on an island, about seven miles above Prairie du Chien.

his friends, and severe on his enemies. He left considerable property, which was largely absorbed in the payment of his obligations, and in litigation with the American Fur Company. His widow, by his second marriage, the daughter of Henry Monroe Fisher, the early Prairie du Chien pioneer, subsequently became the wife of Gen. Dousman, and died January 13, 1882, in her seventy-sixth year.

Jean Joseph Rolette, in consequence of his early settlement in the country, and from his energy and enterprise as a trader and merchant, well deserves to be kindly remembered as one of the prominent pioneers of Wisconsin.

Pages 297, 298, Capt. Francis M. Dease. A few additional facts from his nephew, John Dease, enables us further to state, that Capt. Dease, on retiring from the Hudson Bay Company's service, settled on the east bank of Red River, opposite Winnipeg. The great flood of 1852, carried away his house, barn and other improvements, when he removed three or four miles above St. Boniface, on the same side of the river, where he continued to reside till his death. He was about five feet ten inches in height, strongly built, with broad shoulders, remarkably strong, and possessing a kind and pleasing countenance. As he was a witness to Archibald Campbell's will on St. Peter's River, in Dec., 1802, when he was only eighteen years of age, it may be presumed that he had not long before engaged in the Indian trade.

Richard Dease, the grandfather of Capt. Francis M. Dease, married Ann Johnson, of Damastown, Ireland, a sister of Sir Wm. Johnson; and Richard Dease's brother, Francis Dease, an eminent physician, engaged in the employ of Catharine II, of Russia, and dying unmarried, about 1739, left his fortune to his brother Richard, whose match with Miss Johnson he had been instrumental in forming. But through the dishonesty of an agent in St. Petersburg, Richard Dease never received one penny of the large estate devised him by his brother. Dr. John Dease, the friend of Sir Wm. Johnson, was apparently the elder brother of Richard and Francis Dease, as they had a brother of that name.

Pages 298, 299, Capt. Duncan Graham. Archibald Campbell's will shows that Captain Graham was in the Dakota country as an Indian trader as early as 1802—probably much earlier, as Judge Lockwood, in his narrative on *Early Times and Events in Wisconsin*, given in the second volume of the Society's *Collections*—who knew Capt. Graham well—fixes the time of his advent to Wisconsin about 1786 or 1787, when he must have been very young. There seems to be some doubt as to whether he died at his daughter's, Mrs. Buisson's at Wabasha, or at his daughter's, Mrs. Faribault's, at Mendota, Dakota County, Minn.; but his grandson, G. H. Faribault, says it was at the latter place, and in the spring of 1846. All agree that he died of old age—probably nearer eighty than seventy-five, which would fix his birth year about 1766, and made him about twenty when he first came to the Northwest.

On page 286, mention is made, that the old French fort at Prairie du Chien was established in 1755. But there was a much earlier fort located there, as shown by Franquelin's map of 1688. Neill's *Hist. of Minnesota*, 4th edition, pages 138, and 799, show that Nicholas Perrot was sent in the spring of 1685, with a party of twenty men, to form friendly alliances with the Ioways and Dakotas, and located the first trading-post, just above the mouth of the Wisconsin, at the present locality of Prairie du Chien, and called it after his own baptismal name, Fort St. Nicholas. Another early trading-post was established by Perrot on the same exploration, just above the mouth of the Rivière des Sauteurs, or Chippewas, called Fort St. Antoine. These early establishments form important landmarks in the primitive history of Wisconsin. The authenticity of Franquelin's map, given in Neill's able work, and in Winchell's *Historical Sketch of Explorations and Surveys in Minnesota*, is well attested. It was furnished to the French government by the governor of New France, and preserved in manuscript among the French archives, and only recently first published by Dr. Neill.

Index

ABLEMAN, S. V. R., noticed, 449–50.
Adams, Isaac, noticed, 439.
Aird, George, Indian trader, 178, 294.
Aird, James, Indian trader, 178, 247, 248, 294–95.
Alanson, Sergt. —, at Perryville battle, 382.
Algonquin tradition of the deluge, 157.
Allen, Anson C., noticed, 446.
Allen, Ben., mentioned, 406.
Allen, G. W., donor to Binding Fund, 29.
Allen, William F., curator of the Society, 7–12; translates Grignon's letter, 211.
Alofsen, S., donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Alvord, B., good offices acknowledged, 78.
American Antiquarian, cited, 58, 68, 71.
American Antiquarian Society, Columbus' portrait, 81.
American Eclectic Magazine, 81.
American Fur Company, mentioned, 319, 324, 397, 398, 466.
American Journal of Science, Silliman's, cited, 41, 53, 64, 69, 73, 100.
Ames, Nathaniel, Revolutionary soldier, mentioned, 357.
Ance, a Dakota half-breed, humanity of, 164–65.
Ancient holograph deed, 1662, 126.
Anderson, Anders, noticed, 453.
Anderson, G. A., mentioned, 138.
Anderson, George, noticed, 429.
Anderson, Mons, donor to Cabinet, 98.
Anderson, Rasmus B., curator of the Society, 7–12.
Anderson, Thomas G., likeness, 136; personal narrative, 137–206; sketch, 137–38; starts for the West, 138; voyageurs and voyage, 139–42; at Mackinaw, 142; Indian murderer sent to Kingston, 144; Green Bay in 1800, 145–46; voyaging through Wisconsin, 146–47; Prairie du Chien, 147–48; wintered with Sauks, 148; early Indian traders mentioned, 148; difficulties of Indian trade, 149–50; pioneer balls at Prairie du Chien, 150; trading on Des Moines, 151–52; on Rock River, 152–53; at Milwaukee, 153–58; visits Chicago, 154–55; Na-na-bou-jou's tradition of deluge, 155–57; with Sioux or Dakotas, at St. Peter's, 158–60; slaughtering deer—ill effects, 159–60; at Lac qui Parle, 160–63; hunting buffalo, 161–63; cooking marrow bones, 163; in Big Stony Lake region, 163; trading incidents—hard winter, 163–65; story of Ance, a half-breed, 164–65, 170; Red Thunder, Sioux chief, 163–73; privations and sufferings, 166; We-yo-te-huh, Anderson's Indian name, 170, 191, 197; hunters buried in the snow, 171–72; Red Whale, Sioux chief, 174–78; at Lake St. Croix, 174; Dakota bands and chiefs, 177–78; Red Wing, Sioux chief, 178, 197; traders' combination—smuggling, 178; his Indian wife, 170, 192, 205–206; Sioux expedition against Chippewas, 183–91; buffalo hunt at Big Stony Lake, 191–92; turtles' vs. rattlesnakes' eggs, 192–93; expedition against Prairie du Chien, 193–96; commands at Prairie du Chien, 196; interview with Red Wing, 197; British Indians, 198; Rock River Rapids expedition, 198–99, 219–32; relieved of command, 199; two men killed—an Indian shot, 200–201, 273–74; retires to Mackinaw, 202; on mission to Indians, 202; Indian agent at Drummond Island, 202; removal of agency to Penetanguishine, 206; Journal at Prairie du Chien, 207–61; Grignon's complaints, 210–11, 272; letters and report, 220–32; letter to

McDouall, 243–45; military orders, 251–61; McDouall's letters, 265–69, 272, 273, 276, 277; response, 269–72; Robert Dickson's letter, 273–74; Prairie du Chien citizens, petitions of, 275–76; Indian speeches, 277–79.
Andrews, Amasa, notice, 451.
Ange, Augustin, Prairie du Chien pioneer, 282, 285.
Annals of Mackinaw, cited, 283.
Antaya, Pierre, Prairie du Chien pioneer, 282, 285.
Anti-liquor law, 428.
Antiquities, additions to Cabinet, 18–19, 26, 37, 97–99; Aztalan, origin of name, 40; ancient city, 99–105; brick, 102, 103–105; Perrot's ostensorium, 1686, 112, 126–27; early Roman coin found in Rock County, 120–21; Spanish medal, from Prairie du Chien, 121–24.
Arndt, John P., Green Bay pioneer, 320.
Art Gallery of Society, 19, 27, 37.
Ashby, William, Sheboygan pioneer, 395.
Askin, John, British Indian Department, 202.
Astor, John Jacob, mentioned, 319, 466.
Atwood, David, curator of the Society, 7–12; sketch of Washburn, 327–49; *Fathers of Wisconsin*, cited, 368, 385, 388.
Atwood, Julius P., noticed, 454.
Atwood, Naba, noticed, 432–33.
Atkinson, Mrs. Elizabeth, noticed, 451.
Autographs received by the Society, 18, 25, 26, 37, 125.
Aztalan, origin of its name, 40; the ancient city, by Butler, 99–105; brick, noticed, 102, 103–105.

Baird, Mrs. Henry S., mentioned, 295; noticed, 303; Indian customs and recollections, 303–26.
Baker, Robert H., donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Baldwin, D. W., noticed, 450.
Baldwin, U. C., Sheboygan pioneer, 392.
Bancroft's *History of United States*, cited, 106.
Baraboo (Baribeau), origin of name, 301.
Baraga's *Chippewa Dictionary*, cited, 134.
Barber, A. P., noticed, 452.
Barber, Joel Allen, noticed, 460.
Barlow, Milton, noticed, 463.
Barbouillier, Kickapoo chief, mentioned, 235, 236; speech, 279–281.
Bardack, or Bardech, Fox chief, mentioned, 239, 241, 281.
Bark Creek, Sheboygan County, 395.
Barron, Henry D., vice-president of the Society, 7–11; memoir of, 405–409; birth and early life, 405; settles in Wisconsin—journalism, 405–406; Circuit Judge—war, 406; public career, 407; character—friend of University and Society, 408–409.
Barron County, remains of French fort, 118–119.
Barnhardt, Theodore, noticed, 436.
Barstow-Bashford controversy, 415–416.
Bartlett, Crowell, noticed, 446.
Bartlett, John R., good offices acknowledged, 79.
Barton, E. M., kindness recognized, 79.
Barton, Ira, mentioned, 81.
Bartram, Mons., early Indian interpreter, 446–450.
Bashford-Barstow controversy, 415–416.
Bashford, R. M., curator of the Society, 7, 8; recording secretary of the Society, 9–12.
Bath, Henry D., noticed, 448.
Beach, Horace, donor to Cabinet, 121; mentioned, 296.
Beasar, D., donor to Cabinet, 19.
Beaupre, —, Green Bay pioneer, 322.
Bellaire, —, early Green Bay mail-carrier, 322.
Beloit mounds, mentioned, 57, 59, 62, 66.
Bench and Bar of Wisconsin, cited, 387, 388.
Benson, John, noticed, 458–459.
Benton, Thomas H., mentioned, 284.
Beouchard, Edward, noticed, 457.
Berthe, Louison, Indian interpreter, 245, 247, 259.
Berthelot, —, early Indian trader, 148.
Bertie, David S., noticed, 439.
Big Stony Lake, size, buffalo range, 161, 163, 191, 465.
Binding Fund, 13–14, 21–22, 29–32.
Bintliff, Mrs. Maria, noticed, 451.
Birge, Austin, finds Spanish medal, 121.
Bisset, Peter, noticed, 459.
Black Earth Mounds, mentioned, 72.
Black Hawk, treaty of 1804, 180; affair of Rock River Rapids, 138, 198, 213, 215; sheds tears on hearing of peace, 201; speech, 278.
Black Thunder, or Tonnerre Noir, 207, 238, 240, 246.

Bleyer, H. W., presents sketch of Crawford, 19.
Bliss, G. W., noticed, 442.
Bliss, H. G., deposits Brigham MSS, 26.
Bloodstone, indications of copper, 115.
Blondeau, —, early Indian trader, 148.
Blue Mounds, mounds noticed, 70, 72.
Blue River, mounds mentioned, 69.
Bogert, Mrs. Susanna, noticed, 459.
Boilvin, Nicholas, noticed, 208, 217, 284, 286.
Bond, O. D., presents photograph of Shaubena, 27.
Bonham, Joseph, noticed, 445.
Boston Public Library, 38.
Bosustow, John, noticed, 449.
Bosworth, Mrs. Howard, 460.
Bouche, Francois, interpreter, Indian Department, 254, 264.
Bouck, Gabriel, mentioned, 427.
Bourgue, a Winnebago chief, 222, 281.
Bowen, James B., noticed, 461.
Bowen, P. G., noticed, 462.
Bowron, Stephen, noticed, 438.
Boyd, Mrs. James M., noticed, 432.
Boyd, Robert, noticed, 437.
Bracklin, James, referred to, 118.
Bradford, G. W., honorary vice-president of the Society, 7, 9, 11; donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Bradlen, R. W., noticed, 456.
Bradley, Isaac S., assistant librarian, 7, 9, 11.
Bradley, William, noticed, 459.
Braley, A. B., curator of the Society, 7–12; sketch of Vilas, 421–425.
Brannan, S. S., noticed, 447.
Brigham, Ebenezer, MSS, 26.
Brigham, Mrs. Elizabeth F., noticed, 440.
Brigham, J. R., deposits MSS, 26.
Brisbois, Antoine, mentioned, 220, 241.
Brisbois, B. W., Traditions and Recollections, 282–302.
Brisbois, Charles, noticed, 283–284.
Brisbois, Joseph, Indian trader, 285, 299.
Brisbois, Michael Sr., mentioned, 192, 219, 222, 245, 250, 253, 255, 280; sketch, 282–284, 467.
Brisbois, Michael Jr., mentioned, 196, 209, 212, 233, 248, 252, 254, 257–260, 268; lieutenant in Indian Dep't, 264; at capture of Prairie du Chien, 284, 295; Sauk Rapids, 225, 228, 230–32; sketch, 284.
British Museum, 38.
Britt, C. C., vice-president of the Society, 7, 9, 11.
Broken Leg, a Dakota chief, 169, 172.
Bronson, Mrs. Huldah, noticed, 455.
Brothertown Indians, condition, 19.
Broughton, H. L., donor to Cabinet, 19.
Brown, Beriah, good services, 386, 387.
Brown County, MS. court records, 37; see Baird's reminiscences, 319–323; see sketch of Hardwick, 401–404; French's *History*, cited, 401–404.
Brown, Joseph K., noticed, 298.
Brown, Isaac M., donor to Cabinet, 18, 19.
Brown, Mrs. Sanford, noticed, 444.
Brown, Solomon, noticed, 448.
Brown, William D., noticed, 452.
Bryant, E. E., curator of the Society, 7–12.
Brunson, Alfred, cited, 292.
Brunson, Ira B., compiles Crawford County records, 37; on old French fort at Prairie du Chien, 289.
Buade, early name of Mississippi River, 113, 114.
Buffalo-that-Plays, Dakota chief, 249.
Bulger, A. H., commands at Prairie du Chien, 199, 201, 273, 275–277, 280.
Bull, Mrs. Amanda M., noticed, 449.
Bull, Hiram C., noticed, 20–21, 440.
Bull, Ole, noticed, 450.
Bump, Mark, noticed, 455.
Burchard, Charles, noticed, 433.
Burkhard, F., noticed, 447.
Burnham, John, early Western navigator, 319.
Burrall, G. W., noticed, 457.
Burrows, George B., curator of the Society, 7–12.
Butler, James D., curator of the Society, 7–12; donor to cabinet, 27; on Portraits of Columbus, 76–96; on Early Historic Relics, 97–129; remarks on Washburn, 256–260.
Butte des Morts, a Jesuit murdered there, 147.

Calkins, Mrs. Betsey, noticed, 442.
Calkins, E. A., on William Hull and Satterlee Clark, 413–420.
Calkins, Mrs. Sarah Bill, noticed, 451.
Cameron, Angus, mentioned, 341.
Cameron, Murdock, early trader, 173.
Campbell, Colin, services, 228, 231, 232, 262, 263; noticed, 464–465.
Cap au Gris, mentioned, 224, 245.
Cappacio, mentioned, 82.
Carderera, cited, 80, 82, 84, 86–93.
Cardinal, J. M. Sr., advent to Prairie du Chien, 291–293.

Cardinal, J. M. Jr., mentioned, 218.
Carpenter, J. H., curator of the Society, 7–12; donor to Binding Fund, 13, 30.
Carpenter, M. H., donor to Binding Fund, 30; crayon portrait, 37; speaks at war meetings, 380; contests for senator, 341; noticed, 456.
Carpenter, S. H., death, 20.
Carr, Spencer, noticed, 449.
Carron, —, early Indian trader, 148.
Carver, Jonathan, cited, 293.
Cary, Joseph, noticed, 446.
Cass, Lewis, seeks for historical documents, 108.
Casson, Henry Jr., donor to Cabinet, 37.
Castleman, A. L., cited, 375, 378.
Catlin, John, benefactor, 14, 22, 29, 31.
Centenarians in Wisconsin. See Longevity.
Chamberlain, Mellen, good offices, 79.
Chambers, Talbot, mentioned, 466.
Champegne, —, Prairie du Chien pioneer, 246.
Champignier, —, killed by an Indian, 296–297, 200–201, 273–275.
Champion, W. B., donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Chapman, C. H., Sheboygan pioneer, 389.
Chapman, C. P., curator of the Society, 7–12; donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Chapman, Charles, Green Bay pioneer, 401.
Chapman, Peter, noticed, 459.
Chappell, Nathan, noticed, 443.
Charron, Victor, noticed, 439.
Chase, Enoch, furnishes narrative, 19; presents portrait, 27.
Che-che-bin-quay, Chippewa chief, 390.
Cheesboro, Oliver, noticed, 451.
Cherokees, tradition of deluge, 157.
Chicago, early references to, 110, 116; Whistler there, 154–155.
Chickasaws, tradition of deluge, 157.
Chien, or Dog, at Prairie du Chien, 283, 290.
Childs, Ebenezer, cited, 397.
Chippewa *Herald*, cited, 97.
Chippewa Indians, statement of treaties, 37–38; Sioux war against, 183–191; of Sheboygan, 390–391; mentioned, 225, 277, 279.
Chippewa or Sauteur River, 225.
Churchill, James W., noticed, 454.
Clark, George R., in Illinois, 291.
Clark, S. A., mentioned, 289.
Clark, Satterlee, vice-president of the Society, 7, 9; sketch, 417–420; noticed, 462.
Clark, William, mentioned, 215, 284.
Clark, William H., noticed, 439.
Clark, W. P., donor to Cabinet, 121.
Clarke, Mrs. Mary Cowden, referred to, 78.
Clarke, Robert, honorary vice-president of the Society, 7, 9, 11.
Clary, Robert E., explorations of, 119.
Coates, Ben. M., noticed, 451.
Cobb, Amasa, honorary vice-president of the Society, 7, 9, 11; war services, 376–378.
Colas, Nicholas, Prairie du Chien pioneer, 291–293, 465.
Colbert or Mississippi River, 111–113, 116.
Cole, Charles O., Sheboygan pioneer, 391–396.
Cole, Luther A., noticed, 449.
Cole, O., referred to, 415.
Columbus Portraits, no monograph extant, 78; Medici or Florentine painting, 76–79, 84, 86, 88–90, 92; Delaplaine's fancy engraving, 78; Albany portrait, 79, 95–96; engravings in Society, 79; fancy sketches, 80; Parmigiano's portrait, 81–83; Duke of Veragua's, untrustworthy, 83; N. Y. Hist. Society's bust only ideal, 83; Frankfort imposture, 83; none probable before great discovery, 84; Peschiera's bust ideal, 84; Florentine portrait endorsed by Madrid Hist. Society, 84; Giovio's Museum—Florentine copies, 84–85, 92; Giovio's care in securing portraits, 87, 88; Giunti's edition of Vasari, 85; appearance of Columbus, 88, 89; other likenesses, 89; Canzio monument, 89–90; the Yanez likeness, 92–94; remains of Columbus, 95.
Coman, Jenks, noticed, 461.
Comer, Thomas, noticed, 442.
Commuck, Thomas, on Brothertown Indians, 19.
Commusiant, a Winnebago, 281.
Conant, Dr. —, *Foot Prints and Vanished Races*, cited, 53, 55.
Congressional Library, size of, 38, 39.
Conkey, Theodore, noticed, 446.
Conover, O. M., curator of the Society, 7–12; presents MS. records, 37; remarks on Washburn, 363–365.
Conroe, Levi, Sheboygan pioneer, 392.
Cook, Chester, noticed, 451.

Cooley, Walter, noticed, 438.
Cope, Alfred, visits Menomonees, 38.
Corbeau. See Little Corbeau.
Corot, Auguste, early trader, killed, 119.
Corwin, Jesse, noticed, 442.
Court Oreille Indians, mentioned, 246.
Craig, John H., noticed, 451.
Crawford County, MS. court records, 37.
Crawford, John, sketch, 37; noticed, 457.
Crawford, Samuel, mentioned, 335.
Crawfordville, mounds noticed, 60.
Creeks or Muscogees, tradition of deluge, 157.
Crelie, Joseph, noticed, 292, 293, 296.
Crocker, Oliver C., Sheboygan pioneer, 389–391; noticed, 437.
Crocker, Walter, noticed, 443.
Croghan, George, defends Sandusky, 299; repulsed at Mackinaw, 193, 260.
Crow River, mentioned, 183.
Crowe and Cavalcaselle, cited, 87, 92.
Cruzat, Don Francisco, letter to Wisconsin Indians, 123, 125.
Curtis, Mrs. W. W., noticed, 452.
Cushing, Caleb, mentioned, 406.
Cut-Thumb, a Sioux chief, 184–190.

Dablon's early map, mentioned, 114.
Daems, Francis, noticed, 431.
Dakota or Sioux Indians, incidents, 158–192; Upper and Lower bands, 173, 178; Red Thunder, 165–173; Red Whale, 174–178; Red Wing, 178–197; bands and chiefs, 177–178; Cut-Thumb's expedition, 183–191.
Daly, Charles, good offices acknowledged, 78; cited, 85, 87.
Dancing-the-Scalp, Fox warrior, 279.
Dane, Peter V., noticed, 450–451.
Darling, Mrs. Keyes, donor to Cabinet, 97, 98.
Davenport, George, traditions of Musquakies, 158.
Davis, Booth B., noticed, 445.
Davis, Jefferson, mentioned, 413.
Davis, M. M., obtains medals from Indians, 124; donor to cabinet, 125–126.
Dean, C. K., cited, 73; describes mound near Boscobel, 75.
Dean, John Ward, good offices acknowledged, 79.
Dean, Nat. W., noticed, 445.
Dease, Francis M., on St. Peter's, 464; commands Prairie du Chien, 297; captain of Prairie du Chien militia, 264; services, 228, 229, 231, 236, 237, 242, 243, 245–249, 269; noticed, 297–298, 467.
Dease, John, friend of Sir William Johnson, 297, 467.
De Hart, J. N., cited, 68, 71.
De Koven, James, noticed, 432.
Delaplaine, G. P., curator of the Society, 7–12.
Delaplaine's *Repository*, cited, 78.
Deluge, Indian traditions of, 155–157.
De Neveu, G., donor to Cabinet, 97.
Denmark Royal Library, size, 38.
Des Moines, fort mentioned, 235, 243, 245; abandoned, 250.
Devil's Lake (Dak.), mentioned, 299.
Diajon, —, "a nobody," 201, 298.
Dickhoff, John G., noticed, 444.
Dickinson, William, Green Bay pioneer, 322.
Dickson, Robert, on St. Peters, 464; a British trader, 178, 179, 181; in attack on Sandusky, 299; mentioned, 174, 210, 216–19, 221–23, 238, 240–42, 245–47, 249–51, 266, 268–70, 281, 297; at Prairie du Chien, 273–75; noticed, 298, 300; called *Red-Head* by the Indians, 215, 236.
Dickson, Mrs. William, noticed, 451.
Divers, Mrs. Sarah, noticed, 445.
Dodge, A. C., honorary vice-president of the Society, 7, 9, 11.
Dodge, Henry, Missouri expedition, 244; mentioned, 413, 414.
Dog's-Head, a Winnebago, mentioned, 300.
Doolittle, J. R., mentioned, 339, 428.
Doolittle, Mrs. Sarah, noticed, 452.
Dorchester, Lord, gives medals to Indians, 173, 197.
Doty, James D., mentioned, 300–301, 322, 414.
Douglas, S. A., mentioned, 369.
Dousman, George C., noticed, 435.
Dousman, George D., noticed, 432.
Dousman, Gen. H. L., mentioned, 294, 466, 467.
Doyle, Father James M., noticed, 456.
Draper, Lyman C., secretary of the Society, 7–12; notes, historical and explanatory, 77, 105, 134, 137–38, 151, 157–58, 172–73, 176, 178, 193, 195, 206, 211, 215, 216, 225, 248, 260, 272, 277, 283, 286–89, 290, 291, 293, 294, 296–298, 301, 303, 366, 377, 387, 390, 391, 394, 397, 402, 418; notes down and annotates Brisbois' Traditions, 282–303; sketch

of Larrabee, 366–88; necrology of Wisconsin 1876–81, 426–63; corrections and additions, 464–68; invited to Wisconsin by Larrabee, 387; first salary as secretary, 387.
Drummond Island, British occupancy, 202–06.
Drury, E. W., noticed, 444.
Du Bois, Antoine, mentioned, 220, 296.
Dubuque, Julien, Indian trader, 151, 152, 286.
Du Cange's *Glossary,* cited, 120.
Ducharme, Col. —, mentioned, 402.
Ducharme, Paul, Green Bay pioneer, 321.
Dudley, William, noticed, 437.
Dunbar, Richard, donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Dunn, Charles, mentioned, 335, 387.
Dunning, Abel, noticed, 458.
Durkee, Charles, donor to Library, 13, 29.
Durochier, Amable, Green Bay pioneer, 322.
Durrie, Daniel S., librarian of the Society, 7–12.
Durrie, Miss Isabel, assistant librarian, 7, 9, 11.
Dwinnell, S. A., noticed, 436.
Dye, A. G., Sheboygan pioneer, 392–93.
Dygert, Mrs. Eva, noticed, 448.

Eagle Mills (Richland County), mounds, 53.
Early Historic Relics of the Northwest, Prehistoric Copper Implements, 97–99; Aztalan, the Ancient City, 99–105; Aztalan brick, 102–105; Nicolet's advent to Wisconsin, 105–108; Discovery of the Mississippi, 108–12; Jolliet's first map of Wisconsin, 113–17; Early French Fort in Barron County, 117–19; Roman Coin and Spanish Medal, 120–26.
Early mail facilities in Wisconsin, 322, 401–403.
Earnest, James H., mentioned, 387.
Elephant mounds, described, 72–73.
Ellis, Fred. S., noticed, 435.
Elmore, A. E., mentioned, 132.
Emblematic mounds in Wisconsin, 40–74; Wisconsin peculiarly noted for mounds, 40; Aztalan, ancient tradition of, 40; effigy mounds attract attention, 40–41; the Taylors, Locke, and Lapham, pioneer writers, 41; significance of mounds, 42; difficulty in fixing shapes, 43–44; symbolism of natives unlike ours, 44; diversity of representations, 44–45; classification —symbols of cross, 45–47; animal forms, game drives, covered ways, 47–48; implements, maces, wands, banners, badges, 48–50; war club—cougar or mountain lion, 50; composite mounds—uncertain signification, 50–56; conical mounds—triangular enclosures, 53; observatory mound guarded, 55; opening or passage-way, 56; animal effigies classified, 56; turtle mounds, 56–60; panther, mountain lion or tiger, 60–62; prairie wolf mounds, 62–63; fox effigies, 63–66; buffalo mounds and buffalo drives, 66, 67; antelope effigies, 67–68; deer, elk, rabbits, 68–69; bear effigies, 69–70; raccoon representations, 70–71; squirrel effigies, 71; man mounds, 71–73; woman effigy, 73; elephant mounds, 73–74.
Emerson, Capt. —, of Fifth Wisconsin, cited, 372.
Emery, Lieut.-Col. —, mentioned, 376.
Emory, G. E., photograph presented, 27.
English Prairie mentioned, 300; mounds noticed, 69.
Everett, Edward, favors preserving Aztalan, 103.
Evergreen City Times, cited, 397.

Fairchild, Charles, honorary vice-president of the Society, 7, 9, 11; donor to Binding Fund, 29.
Fairchild, Lucius, presents portrait of Columbus, 76, 95; mentioned, 407.
Falvey, Thomas, mentioned, 387.
Faribault, Alexander, mentioned, 299.
Faribault, G. H., mentioned, 467.
Faribault, J. B., in British service, 1814, 262.
Farmer, Mrs. Maria, Columbus portrait, 79, 95–96.
Farnsworth, William, mentioned, 392–94; sketch of, 397–400.
Farr, Mrs. A. W., noticed, 457.
Farwell, L. J., hororary vice-president of the Society, 7, 9, 11; mentioned, 387.
Fifield, S. S., memoir of Barron, 405–409.
Firmin, F. H., recording secretary of the Society, 7, 8.
Firmin, Morris, Sheboygan pioneer, 392.
Fisher, Henry Monroe, mentioned, 222, 295, 303, 467.
Fitch, Alson, noticed, 450.

Folles Avoines, or Menomonees, 246.
Follet Creek, Sheboygan County, 391.
Foot Prints and Vanished Races, cited, 53, 55.
Fort Des Moines, mentioned, 242, 243, 245, 250.
Fort Howard, mentioned, 319.
Fort Independence, on Mississippi, 224.
Fort Madison, mentioned, 220, 222, 252.
Fort Marin, on Lake Pepin, 286.
Foster, E. N., donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Fox Lake, mounds mentioned, 49.
Fox, Renard or Musquakie Indians, traditions of deluge and Bible, 158; at Turkey River, 207, 210, 211, 248; village at Kick-a-poo River, 295; mentioned, 209, 212–14, 217, 219–21, 224, 228, 233, 238–40, 246, 251, 252, 279, 280.
Fox River, Great Bend, mounds at, 60.
Francois, Le Corbeau, Dakota Chief, 200, 273–75.
Frank, Jacob, early Green Bay trader, 145–47, 151, 155, 178, 179.
Franquelin's early map of New France, cited, 468.
Freeman, William W., noticed, 457.
French, Mrs. Bella, cited, 402.
French, Volney, noticed, 458.
French, National Library, size, 38.
Frenier, Francois, Indian interpreter, 232, 255, 262.
Fries, H. W., noticed, 444.
Frontenacie or Frontenacky, described, 113, 116.
Frost, George L., noticed, 431.
Fuller, Mrs. Deborah, noticed, 455.
Fuller, S. S. N., mentioned, 406.
Furness, Ole H., donor to Cabinet, 19.

Gale, Abraham Rice, noticed, 434.
Gaines, E. P., at Green Bay, in 1824, 319.
Gardner, Samuel, noticed, 443.
Gary, George, mentioned, 387; donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Gautier, Charles, de Verville, noticed, 283.
Geneva History, Simmons', cited, 58.
Geneva, mounds noticed, 58.
Germain, Columbus, noticed, 452.
Gesalle, Jacob, noticed, 444.
Giard, Basil, Prairie du Chien pioneer, 246, 282, 285.
Giard's Coulee, locality, 296.
Gibbs, B. F., noticed, 455.
Gibbs, John D., B. L., and James H., Sheboygan pioneers, 393.
Giles, Hiram H., curator of the Society, 7–12.
Gillett, James M., noticed, 435.
Giovio, Paolo, mentioned, 82, 84, 86–88, 91, 92, 94, 95.
Goodell, Lavinia, noticed, 447.
Goodell, William, noticed, 427.
Good Hope (Wis.), mentioned, 395.
Goodrich, Judge ——, Chicago pioneer, 390.
Gordon, Adam, of British Navy, 203.
Gorsline, William R., noticed, 432.
Gould, Liberty, noticed, 460.
Graham, Duncan, on St. Peter's River, 464; at attack on Sandusky, 299; lieutenant in Indian Department, 264; on Rock River Rapids expedition, 188, 199, 213–216, 219–32, 254, 255; mentioned, 234, 242, 245, 246, 252, 256–59, 268–70, 279, 281; noticed, 298–99, 467.
Gratiot, Mrs. Adele B., Recollections, 19.
Grant, Cuthbert, noticed, 299–300.
Grant River, how named, 299–300.
Gravier, Gabriel, essay on Jolliet's map, 113, 114, 116.
Greeley, Horace, mentioned, 416.
Great Stony Lake, mentioned, 161, 163, 191.
Gregory, J. C., curator of the Society, 7–12.
Gregory, John, noticed, 450.
Green Bay, dates and facts—Perrault's mission 1686, 112, 126–27; early reference to, 115; appearance, 145–46; Grignon's volunteers, 264; Baird's reminiscences, 319–23; Hardwick's career, 401–404; *Advocate,* cited, 402; *City Press,* cited, 397; *Gazette,* cited, 303.
Green Lake, mounds noticed, 60, 61, 66, 71.
Grignon, Augustin, cited, 294, 296, 297, 299, 401; at capture of Prairie du Chien, 295.
Grignon, Louis, mentioned, 321.
Grignon, Pierre, mentioned, 220–22, 211, 265; complaints to Anderson, 210, 211; conduct not satisfactory, 272; proposes foray against Illinois, 211; company discharged, 246, 255, 270; at Green Bay, 320.
Grignon, Pierre, Jr., lieutenant and interpreter in Indian Department, 262, 264; mentioned, 223, 228–30, 232, 256, 258.
Grover, Amasa, donor to Cabinet, 98.
Guenther, Richard, curator of the Society, 7–10.

Guerin, Patrick, noticed, 452.
Guernsey, Orrin, noticed, 426.
Guillroy, Jean B., lieutenant and interpreter, 234–36, 242, 243, 254, 264.
Guppey, J. J., vice-president of the Society, 7, 9, 11; donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Gurnee, J. D., curator of the Society, 7–12.

Hagar, Barney, donor to Cabinet, 18.
Haldimand, Frederick, certificate to Menomonee chief, 125; medals to Indians, 173, 197.
Hale, Seneca, noticed, 455.
Halveldt, J. S., donor to Cabinet, 19.
Hamilton, James M., British army, 204.
Hamilton, Philip, contributes data and likeness of W. S. Hamilton, 26, 27.
Hamilton, W. S., sketch and likeness furnished, 26, 27.
Hancock, W. S., mentioned, 372, 373, 377, 378.
Hanford, Mrs. Abby, noticed, 436.
Hardwick, Moses, sketch, 401–404, 437.
Haraszthy, Agostin, data for sketch, 19.
Haraszthy, Aspard, contributes data of his father, 19.
Harger, Mrs. Betsey, noticed, 459.
Harrison, W. H., and treaty of 1804, 130, 131.
Harrisse, *Notes* cited, 89. 116.
Harseim, A., donor to Cabinet, 26.
Hartland, mounds noted, 60.
Harvard College Library, size, 77.
Harvey, L. P., death, 418.
Haseltine, F. J., donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Haskell, Harrison S., noticed, 431.
Haskell, Henry, antiquarian collection, 103.
Haskell, Job, noticed, 441.
Hastings, S. D., curator of the Society, 7–12; State Treasurer, 411; sketch of Purple, 410–12.
Hathaway, Joshua, Sr., mentioned, 367, 370.
Hawley, Charles T., noticed, 444.
Hayden's *Reports*, cited, 53.
Hayes, Rutherford B., visits Wisconsin, 418, 419.
Hayes, Mrs. R. B., interview with Sat. Clark, 419–20.
Hazleton, John F., consul at Genoa, cited, 90.
Helmer, C. D., noticed, 434.
Henni, Archbishop John Martin, noticed, 461.
Herald (N. Y.), cited, 377.
Hesk, William R., noticed, 436.
Hess, Thomas, noticed, 452.
Heywood, —, lance corporal, mentioned, 228, 229, 245, 256, 265.
Hibbard, W. B., mentioned, 383.
Hilder, F. F., cited, 47.
Hill, George W., donor to Cabinet, 37.
Hill, Thomas W., noticed, 434–35.
Hiner, William H., noticed, 448.
Historical Atlas of Wisconsin, cited, 286, 391.
Hobart, H. C., mentioned, 440.
Hobbins, Joseph, curator of the Society, 7–12.
Hodges, R. M., donor to Binding Fund, 29.
Hoeflinger, Carl, noticed, 452.
Hoisington, Samuel T., noticed, 459.
Holbrook, S. B., donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Holden, E. S., remarks on Washburn, 360–63.
Holden, Joseph, noticed, 445.
Hollinbeck, B. F., noticed, 450.
Holman, J. D., donor to Cabinet, 98.
Holmes, Andrew Hunter, defeated, 193, 260.
Holton, E. D., donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Homes, H. A., good offices acknowledged, 78, 95.
Homes, John C., noticed, 439.
Honey Creek, mounds noticed, 48, 66, 68, 69.
Honore, Louis, interpreter and commissary, 228, 248, 249, 260, 262, 264, 271.
Hooe, Mrs. Emilie R., cited, 465–67.
Hopkins, Ervin, noticed, 450.
Horicon, mounds noticed, 50. 51, 60, 65, 66, 71; named by Larrabee, 367.
Horn, F. W., cited, 369; mentioned, 413, 418.
Houle, Joseph, noticed, 433.
Howard, Major —, of British army, 203.
Howe, T. O., referred to, 341; letter, 387.
Hoy, P. R., cited, 68.
Hoyt, A. H., good offices acknowledged, 79.
Hoyt, Otis, mentioned, 335.
Hubbard, Bela, good offices acknowledged, 78.
Hudson Bay Company, 298, 319.
Hudson, Frank, cited, 49.
Huebschmann, Francis, noticed, 446.
Huisconsin, early Sauk chief, 123.
Hull, Mrs. Polly, noticed, 460.
Hull, William, mentioned, 387; sketches, 413–16, 461–62.

Hume, John P., noticed, 461.
Humphrey's *Coin Collector*, cited, 120.
Hunt, Samuel H., honorary vice-president of the Society, 7, 9, 11.
Hunter, Jabez H., noticed, 447.
Hutchinson, B. E., curator of the Society, 7–12.
Hyde, Warner, noticed, 455.
Hyer, George, mentioned, 411.
Hyer, N. F., describes Aztalan, 100.

ILLINOIS or Outrelaise River, 113; fossil coal and iron near, 115; bloodstones as indications of copper, 115.
Inama, A., noticed, 440.
Inde, Riviere d', or Turkey River, 207, 210, 248.
Indians, early tribes on Wisconsin, 115; Chippewas, treaties, 37–38; Menomonees, visit to, 38; one sent to Kingston for trial, 144; Jesuit murdered at Butte des Morts, 147; Sauks and Indian trade, 148–50; Winnebagoes, character, 152; Pottawattamies at Milwaukee, 154; Chicago, 154–55; traditions of deluge, 155–58; Sioux or Dakotas, incidents, 158–92; Omahas, mentioned, 165; Red Thunder, Dakota chief, 165–73, 178; Red Whale, Dakota chief, 174–78; Red Wing, Dakota chief, 178, 197, 209; Gen. Cut Thumb, Dakota chief, 184–90; at Prairie du Chien, 195–96; affair at Sauk Rapids, 198–99, 219–32, 254–55, 272; abandoned by the British, 197–98, 211.
Indian Customs, by Baird, 302–26; compared with Orientals, 304–305; mourning for dead—burial, 305–306; ideas of another existence, 306–307; thanksgiving, Great Spirit, Indian gods, 307–309; idols, signs, significations, 308; attaining manhood, 308–309; war-parties, 309; death-wail—various dances, 310–11; courtship and marriage, 311–13; dreams, shells, wood, names, children, 313–14; legend of Red Swan, 314–16; massacre at Prairie du Chien, 323–26.
Indian traders, trickery and overreaching 149–152, 399–400.
Iowa County, mounds noticed, 69.
Iowa River, Fox Indians on, 239.
Iroquois, early Western forays, 117; tradition of deluge, 157.
Irwin, Mrs. Frances P., noticed, 443.
Irwin, Robert, Sr. and Jr., Green Bay pioneers, 322.
Isham, Enoch, noticed, 449.

JACKSON, General, a negro, noticed, 439.
Jackson, Joseph, noticed, 458.
Jackson, Mortimer M., presents portrait, 27; public services, 27; response at Washburn memorial services, 265.
"Jackson," schooner, early on Lake Michigan, 319.
James, Ralph U., good offices acknowledged, 79.
Janesville *Gazette*, cited, 426.
Jefferson's copy of Columbus portrait, 76, 78, 86, 92.
Jeffrey's map of 1763, cited, 119.
Jesuit, murdered at Butte des Morts, 147.
Jeune Homme, Renard or Fox Chief, 217, 218, 238, 240, 241, 280, 281.
Joe, aged Menomonee Indian, 427.
Johnson, John A., curator of the Society, 7–12.
Johnson, John W., mentioned, 284.
Johnson, Timothy, discovers Aztalan antiquities, 100.
Johnson, William, noticed, 438.
Johnson, Sir William, mentioned, 297, 467.
Jolliet's *Map of New France*, 24, 111–16; visit to Wisconsin, 106; Mont Jolliet, 116.
Jones, Benjamin, noticed, 460–61.
Jones, David W., noticed, 441.
Jones, Peter G., mentioned, 415.
Jourdan, Joseph, Green Bay pioneer, 321.
Jourdan, Madeline, marries Eleazer Williams, 321.
Judd, Stoddard, mentioned, 368.
Judd's *Story of N. Y. Thirty-Third*, cited, 377.
Juneau, Solomon, mentioned, 132, 133, 395.

KEATING, James, bombardier at Prairie du Chien, 195; at Sauk Rapids, 228–32, 254, 256, 257; promoted, 199, 247, 268, 271; at Drummond Island, 202; sketch, 206.
Keenan, Thomas, noticed, 451.
Keene, Samuel B., noticed, 444.
Kenealey, James S., noticed, 443.
Kelsey, A. W., mentioned, 348.
Kelso, —, Green Bay pioneer, 320.
Kelton, D. H., cited, 283, 464.
Ketchum, William, noticed, 438.
Kewaunee *Enterprise*, mentioned, 456.
Ke-wa-no-quat, or Returning Cloud, mentioned, 303.
Keyes, E. W., curator of the Society, 7–12.

Keyser, W., donor to Cabinet, 37.
Ki-chi-Man-i-tou, or Great Spirit, 307.
Kickapoo Indians, mentioned, 221, 245, 251.
Kickapoo River, mounds noticed, 66, 67, 295.
Kimball, Daniel F., noticed, 445.
King, Rufus, letter on the war, 371, 372.
Kingston, John T., vice-president of the Society, 7, 9, 11.
Kinzie, Mrs., *Waubun*, cited, 294.
Kitchell, John, noticed, 449.
Klauber, Samuel, curator of the Society, 9–12.
Knight, Mrs. Ann, noticed, 449.
Knowlton, James H., noticed, 430.
Koshkonong, mounds noticed, 49, 50, 53–55, 60.
Kramer, Bartholomæus, noticed, 446.
Kundig, Martin, noticed, 432.

La Chappelle, Theophilus, mentioned, 285.
Lac qui Parle, trading-post, 160–63.
La Crosse Prairie, in 1814, 216, 222, 235, 236, 254, 255.
La Crosse Public Library, Washburn's bequest, 346, 358.
Ladd, Azel P., mentioned, 460.
"Lady Elgin," steamer, lost, 397.
Laidler, T., donor to Binding Fund, 30.
LaGruness, Winnebago Chief, 226.
Lake Sakaegan, 130–34.
Lamparel, Solomon, noticed, 448.
Land grant, La Crosse railroad corruption, 415, 416.
Lane, John, noticed, 451.
Langlade, Charles, mentioned, 283, 290.
Lapham, I. A., estate, liberal donor to Library, 13, 29; cited, 41, 45, 47–50, 56, 58–60, 63, 65, 68, 71, 100–102, 134.
La Plante, Charles, mentioned, 235.
La Pointe, Francois, mentioned, 223, 224.
La Pointe, Pierre, Prairie du Chien pioneer, 282, 285, 297.
Larousse, —, cited, 88.
Larrabee, Charles, mentioned, 366–67, 371.
Larrabee, Charles H., birth and ancestry, 366–67; in Mississippi and Chicago, 367; settles in Wisconsin—member of Convention, 367–68; Circuit Judge, 368–69; elected to Congress, 369–70; views on war, 370–71; Randall and King, 371; enters the service—promotions, 372; Lewinsville affair, 372–73; Hancock's commendation, 373; Lee's Mills battle, 374–75; crossing mill-dam, 375–76; Williamsburg battle, 376–79; made colonel, 379; holding war-meetings, 380; Perryville, or Chaplin Hills, battle, 381–83; sickness—resigns, 383–85; P. H. Sheridan's letter, 384; W. H. Lytle's letter, 384–85; Rosecrans' letter, 385; migrates to Pacific coast, 386; services and death, 386; estimate of his own services, 387–88; character, 388.
Larriviere, Julien, mentioned, 300.
La Ronde, John T., noticed, 431–432.
La Salle, Cavalier de, discoveries in West, 110–112; at Starved Rock, 119.
Lawe, John, mentioned, 145, 320, 321; British trader, 178, 179, 193.
Lawler, John, donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Lebert, —, seeking Western grant, 111.
Lecuyer, Jean B., at Portage, 280.
Lee, Hugh, noticed, 445.
Lee, Isaac, map of Prairie du Chien unreliable. 289.
Lee's Mills, battle, 374–375.
Legend of Red Swan, 314–316.
Lehmann, William, noticed, 459
Le Jeune, Father, cited, 106.
Lemar, Charles H., noticed, 460.
Lemonweir (Le-mon-woi), mentioned, 301.
Lewinsville affair, described, 372–73.
Lewis and Clark's *Travels*, cited, 126.
Lewis, James T., vice-president of Society, 7, 9, 11; donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Lewis, John, noticed, 457.
Libraries, public, size and growth, 38, 39.
Lincoln, Abraham, mentioned, 427.
Lindwurm, W. H., noticed, 438.
Liscum, E. H., noticed, 453.
Liskum, Mrs. Polly, noticed, 453.
Little Corbeau, Dakota chief, mentioned, 213, 216, 233, 236, 238–39, 241–42, 246, 249, 251, 254–55, 267, 273; at Sauk Rapids, 222, 229.
Little Crow, Dakota chief, 178.
Locke, John, cited, 41, 66.
Lockwood, James H., cited, 284, 294, 466, 467.
Loomis, James H., noticed, 445.
Loomis, Mrs. Maria K., noticed, 445.
Long, J., *Voyages and Travels*, cited, 290; at Prairie du Chien, 290–91.
Longevity in Wisconsin, Mrs. Ann Knight, 449; General Jackson, 439; Peter Bisset, 459; Mrs. Willey, 437; Antoine Valley, 456; John Mulligan,

463; Michael O'Brien, 462; Joseph Houle, 433; Joe, an Indian, 427; Sanford Brown, 444; B. Kramer, 446; Joel Newell, 455; Mrs. Betsy Harger, 459; Pardon H. Merrill, 439; Mrs. Betsey Calkins, 442; William Ott, 458; Mrs. Susanna Bogert, 459; Mrs. Edward McGraw, 430–31; Thomas Comer, 442; Mrs. Eva Dygert, 448; Enoch Isham, 449; Ervin Hopkins, 450; Oliver Cheesboro, 451; Capt. Thomas Spencer, 460; Jenks Coman, 461; Edward McGraw, 430–31; Mrs. Abby Hanford, 436; Mrs. Electa Scarrett, 446; Maj. Geo. Anderson, 429; Mrs. Nancy Osborn, 451; Mrs. Sarah B. Calkins, 451; Jacob Gesalle, 444; Mrs. Wm. Dickson, 451; Granville Sherwood, 456; Saba Atwood, 432–33; Nathan Chappell, 443; John Gregory, 450; Mrs. Phoebe Post, 453; Mrs. Jennie Williams, 444.

Lossing, Benson J., cited, 377.

Louisville *Monthly Magazine,* cited, 28.

Lowrie, Alexander, noticed, 443.

Lyon, Isaac, curator of the Society, 7–12.

Lyon, Lucius, map of Prairie du Chien, 289.

Lytle, W. H., cited, 284–85.

Mackinaw, early references, 110, 117, 142; captured by British, 294; McDouall in command, 193; volunteers against Prairie du Chien, 262, 264; Croghan and Holmes repelled, 193, 260; Kelton's *Annals,* cited, 283; Mrs. Baird's recollections, 316–19.

Macy, John B., mentioned, 414–15.

Madison, mounds in and near, 49, 50, 53, 60–66, 69–71, 73.

Magazine of American History, cited, 79, 80.

Maguire, T. V., noticed, 436.

Mail facilities, early, 322, 401–404.

Main, A. H., treasurer of the Society, 7–12.

Mallory, Miss Amelia, noticed, 439.

Mallory, Henry, noticed, 445.

Man effigy, noticed, 71–73.

Manitowoc, early settlement, 461.

Manuscripts in Society, 13, 19, 26, 37–38.

Margry, Pierre, historical labors, by Butler, 108–9; on discovery of Mississippi, 109–12.

Marie, noted Sauk doctress, 241, 279.

Marin, Capt. —, fort, 286.

Marquette, Father Jacques, cited, 68; visit to Wisconsin, 106, 110, 112; grave discovered, 108, 110; early map referred to, 114, 115.

Marsh, Albert G., noticed, 448.

Marshall, O. H., furnishes Anderson's Journal, 137.

Marshall, Samuel, vice-president of the Society, 7, 9, 11; donor to Binding Fund, 29.

Martin, M. L., vice-president of the Society, 7, 9, 11; cited, 301, 394; sketch of William Farnsworth, 397–400; of M. Hardwick, 401–404.

Massachusetts Hist. Society, referred to, 77.

Maule, Col. —, in British army, 203.

Mayville, mounds noticed, 60, 64, 65, 71.

McCall, A. J., donor of manuscript, 26.

McCall, James, MS. Journal, 26.

McClellan, G. B., mentioned, 378.

McDill, A. S., donor, to Binding Fund, 30.

McDonald, A. R., noticed, 433–34.

McDouall, Robert, mentioned, 193, 195, 199, 202, 203, 221, 225, 234, 243, 246, 247, 260; letters to Anderson, 228–30, 265–69, 276–77; sketch, 193.

McEntee, W. H., crayon of W. H. Carpenter, 37.

McFetridge, E. C., curator of Society, 11–12.

McGraw, Edward, noticed, 430–31.

McGreer, John, donor to Cabinet, 27.

McKay, William, commands Prairie du Chien expedition, 194–96, 207, 208, 210, 211, 214, 219–21, 229–31; joy when he departed for Mackinaw, 196; inebriated when at Prairie du Chien, 194, 195, 266; fond of brandy, 296; "medicine" furnished by Indian Marie, 279; favorable endorsement, 230–31.

McKinzie, Robert, early Indian trader, 138, 143, 150, 151.

McMillan, D. D., donor to Cabinet, 18.

Mean, V. R., noticed, 455.

Medals, custom of giving Indians, 123–26; found in Wisconsin, 123–125; British gifts, 173, 177; surrendered by Indians, 124, 196–97.

Meigs Fort, attack on, in 1813, 166.

Mellish's map of 1816, cited 248.

Memhard, George F. C., noticed, 441.

Menard, Rene, early missionary, 117.

Menomonees, or Folles Avoines, 246, 250, 277, 280.

Menomonee River, lumbering on, 399.

Merriam, Isaac, noticed, 451.
Merrill, Pardon H., noticed, 439.
Messmore, I. E., mentioned, 414, 415.
Miami Indians, on Missouri, captured, 244.
Michigan, origin and meaning of name, 134.
"Michigan," early steamer, 392.
Mitasse, Fox Chief, 123.
Miller, John, commands troops at Green Bay, 401.
Mills, Roger H., noticed, 453.
Mills, Simeon, vice-president of the Society, 7–12; presides at Washburn memorial meeting, 327.
Milwaukee, early times, 19; mounds noticed, 62, 65; trading-post, 153–58; *Advertiser*, mentioned, 100, 104; *Free Democrat*, mentioned, 429; *News*, cited, 370; *Sentinel*, cited, 378.
Miltimore, Capt. Ira, noticed, 435.
Mississippi, its signification, 301–302.
Missouri Indians, aid in repelling Americans at Rock Rapids, 234.
Missouri River Indians, noticed, 67, 73.
Misconsing, or Wisconsing, 115.
Mitchell, Alexander, life director of the Society, 7, 9, 11; donor to Binding Fund, 29; life-friend of Washburn, 348; Larrabee's letter to, 383.
Mitchell, Dr. —, of British army, 204.
Montgomery, John, Illinois operations, 291.
Moore, George H., good offices acknowledged, 79.
Morgan, Lewis H., cited, 102.
Morse, Ambrose, noticed, 439.
Morse, Daniel, early New England settler, 127–29.
Mott, Mrs. —, noticed, 448.
Mounds, 40–74; near Boscobel, opened, 75.
Mound Prairie, mound opened, 58.
Moundville, on Neenah River, mounds, 69.
Mud Creek, Sheboygan County, 395.
Mukwonago Lake, referred to, 132.
Mulligan, John, noticed, 463.
Murch, B. B., donor to Cabinet, 127–29.
Murdock, Jefferson, noticed, 427.
Muscoda, mounds noticed, 69–72; Indian settlement there, 300.
Muscogees or Creeks, tradition of deluge, 157.
Musquakies or Fox Indians, traditions of deluge and Bible, 158.

Na-na-bou-jou's tradition of deluge, 155–57.
Navarette, referred to, 92.
Neenah, origin of name, 300–301.
Neill's *Hist. of Minnesota*, cited, 297–300, 464, 468.
Newberry, Stephen, noticed, 439.
Newell, Joel, noticed, 455.
Newhall, Noah, noticed, 445.
Newspaper files, in Library, 16–18, 25, 35–36.
Nicholson, H. N., donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Nicodemus, W. J. L., cited, 60; noticed, 429.
Nicolet's Voyage to Wisconsin, 1634, 105–108.
Noggle, David, noticed, 428.
Northwest, early historic relics, copper implements, 97–99; Aztalan, the ancient city, 99–105; Nicolet's advent, 105–108; discovery of Mississippi, 108–12; Jolliet's map of Wisconsin, 113–17; French fort in Barron County, 117–21; Roman coin and Spanish medal, 121–26; holograph deed, 1662, 126–29.
North West Fur Company, 298.
Norton, Charles E., good offices acknowledged, 78; cited, 81, 85.

Oakley, F. W., donor to Binding Fund, 21, 30.
O'Brien, Michael, noticed, 462.
Observatory, State University, gift of Washburn, 345–46, 355, 358, 360–63.
Old Wolf, Winnebago Chief, 226.
Olson, Ole R., donor to Cabinet, 27.
Omahaw Indians, mentioned, 165.
O'Neal, Nelson, noticed, 461.
Onk-e-tah-En-du-tah, or Red Whale, story of, 174–78.
Orton, H. S., vice-president of the Society, 7–12; remarks on Washburn, 350–52.
Osborn, Mrs. Nancy, noticed, 451.
Ostensorium, of 1686, noticed, 112, 126–127.
Ott, William, noticed, 458.
Ottawa Indian, killed, 165.
Outagamie or Fox Indians, west of Green Bay, 115.
Owen, D. D., mentioned, 331.
Owen, T. J. V., Indian Agent, Chicago, 390–91.

Paine, James H., noticed, 431.
Palme, J. C., noticed, 438.
Palmer, H. L., war speeches, 380.
Palmer, Peter and William, Sheboygan pioneers, 393.

Parkinson, J. B., curator of Society, 7–12; remarks on Washburn, 354–56.
Parkinson, Nathaniel F., noticed, 429.
Parkman, Francis, cited, 106, 108, 116.
Paul, G. H., donor to Binding Fund, 21, 30.
Pauquette, Pierre, origin of Neenah, 300–301.
Payne, William, Sheboygan pioneer, 380, 390, 394, 400.
Payson, Charles, mentioned, 348.
Pease, Capt. —, early Western navigator, 392.
Pembina, relief sent to, 299.
Perkins, Lieut. —, at Prairie du Chien, 295–96.
Perkins, Fred. S., vice-president of the Society, 7, 9, 11; antiquarian collection, 97–99.
Peet, Miss Martha, noticed, 436.
Peet, Stephen D., Emblematic Mounds of Wisconsin, 40–74.
Penechon, Dakota chief, 299.
Perrault, —, early Green Bay missionary, 112, 126–27.
Perrot, Nicholas, early voyageur, 119, 468.
Perry, Benjamin, noticed, 457.
Petteval, Col. —, mentioned, 301.
Pewaukee mounds, noticed, 59.
Pewaukee Lake, the ancient Sakaegan, 130–34.
Phelps, Whitcomb, noticed, 459.
Phené, J. S., cited, 42, 53, 73–74.
Phillips, Charles H., noticed, 428.
Phillips, John, noticed, 452.
Pidgeon, William, cited, 55.
Pike, Z. M., *Travels* cited, 123, 172–73, 176–78, 291, 295, 300.
Pilgrim, D. T., donor to Cabinet, 98.
Pilmore, Sergeant —, mentioned, 245.
Pinney, S. U., curator of the Society, 7–12.
Pioneer Press, St. Paul, cited, 157.
Plocker, William, donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Po-ca-ga-mah, locality and signification, 118.
Pomeroy, Mark M., cited, 418–20.
Poole's *Index*, mentioned, 78.
Porlier, J. J., services, 257–59, 262, 264.
Portage, carrying place in 1800, 147; mentioned, 249, 280.
Portraits, see Portraits of Columbus, 76–96.
Post, Mrs. Phoebe, noticed, 453.
Postal Telegraph, advocated by Washburn, 336–37, 353–54.
Pottawattamies, early in Green Bay region, 115; at Milwaukee, 154–55.
Potter, John F., vice-president of the Society, 7, 9, 11; donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Potter, John Jr., noticed, 430.
Potter, W. A., noticed, 449.
Powell, William, cited, 215.
Prairie du Chien, old French forts, 1685 and 1755, 286–89, 468; Cardinal's advent, 291–93; old fort burned, 290–91; territory purchased of Indians, 282, 285; Anderson's visit, 147–48, 150; Dease commands, 297; captured by Americans, 193; retaken by McKay, 193–96, 295–96; Grignon's unsatisfactory conduct, 210–11, 272; Indian shot, 200–201, 273–75, 296–97; citizens' petitions, 275–76; British fort burned, 297; Brisbois' traditions, 282–302; Michael Brisbois, Sr., 282–84, 467; Basil Giard, 282, 285; Pierre Antaya, 282, 285; Augustin Ange, 282, 285; Pierre La Pointe, 282, 285; Nicholas Boilvin, 286; Joseph Crelie, 293; Joseph Rolette, 293–97, 465–67.
Pratt, Mrs. Clarissa G., noticed, 452.
Pratt, Samuel, mentioned, 387.
Prentiss, Sergeant S., anecdote, 416.
Price, W. T., donor of crayon likeness, 27.
Pritchard, Henry, noticed, 438.
Proudfit, Andrew, curator of the Society, 7–12; donor to Binding Fund, 29.
Provancall, Pierre, mentioned, 241, 242, 259.
Prussian Royal Library, size, 38.
Puans or Winnebagoes, near Green Bay, 115; on Rock River, 152.
Public Libraries, size and growth, 38–39.
Pulsifer, David, donor Massachusetts charter, 27.
Purple, C. H., sketch, 410–12, 441.

QUINER'S *Wisconsin in the War*, cited, 339.

RAILROADS, land grant corruption, 415–416.
Randall, A. W., mentioned, 341, 371, 372, 406.
Randall, Brewster, noticed, 448.
Randolph, Miss Sarah N., cited, 76, 77; good offices acknowledged, 79.
Rasmussen, Ole, donor to Cabinet, 27.

Raymer, George W., curator of Society, 7-12.
Read, John M., noticed, 456.
Red River, settlement on, 299.
Red Swan, legend of, 314-16.
Red Thunder, Dakota Chief, his endurance, 165-66; serves at Fort Meigs, 166; sufferings near Big Stoney Lake, 166-72; Pike's notice, 172-73; Indian name, 178.
Red Whale, Dakota Chief, story of, 174-78, 181, 182; Indian name, 178.
Red Wing, Dakota Chief, mentioned, 178, 197, 209, 214, 218; Indian name, 178.
Renaudot, Abbe, cited, 110.
Renville, Joseph, interpreter, mentioned, 228, 235, 238, 254, 264, 273.
Reynolds, James, noticed, 455.
Reynolds, John, noticed, 441.
Reynolds, Thomas, curator of Society, 7-12; donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Rice, John A., vice-president of the Society, 11; donor to Binding Fund, 13, 30; donor to Cabinet, 19; on identity of Lake Sakaegan, 130, 133.
Richardson, William A., mentioned, 373.
Richland County, mounds noticed, 53. 69.
Ringle, Bartholomew, noticed, 462.
Ripley Lake, mounds noticed, 60, 61.
Riviere des Fortes, mentioned, 272.
Robertson, Andrew, mentioned, 206.
Robinson, —, Green Bay pioneer, 322.
Robinson, H. M., on Lake Sakaegan, 131.
Robinson, Mrs. Lois Safford, noticed, 452.
Rock, Joseph Sr., Indian Department, 264.
Rock, Joseph Jr., interpreter, 254, 256, 264.
Rock County *History*, mentioned, 426.
Rock Island, mentioned, 225.
Rock River, mounds noticed, 66.
Rock River Rapids affair, 1814, mentioned, 198-99, 219-32, 254-55; Grignon not equal to leadership, 272.
Rock River Valley railroad, 414, 415.
Rockton, mounds noticed, 51.
Rogan, Peter, mentioned, 387.
Rogers, Corp. —, at Perryville or Chaplin Hills, 382.
Rolette, Joseph, Prairie du Chien pioneer, with British traders, 178-80; at capture of Mackinaw, 294; volunteers at Mackinaw, 262; in service, 229, 230, 246-49, 260, 266, 269-71, 277; mentioned, 324; first wife, mentioned, 297; sketches of career, 393-96, 465-67.
Rolette, Lawrence, Indian trader, 300.
Roman coin, found in Rock County, 120.
Rooney, Richard, noticed, 442-43.
Rose, S. L., mentioned, 387.
Rosecrans, W. S., letter, 385.
Rountree, John H., vice-president of the Society, 7, 9, 11.
Rountree, Mrs. Lydia H., noticed, 459.
Rowe, Mrs. Sophia, furnishes Anderson's Narrative, 137.
Rublee, Horace, presents likeness, 27; cited, 392, 397.
Rudsill, —, Sheboygan County pioneer, 389.
Ruger, Edward, mentioned, 427.
Ruger, H. H., mentioned, 427.
Ruger, Thomas H., mentioned, 427.
Ruger, Thomas T., noticed, 427.
Ruger, Capt. William, mentioned, 428.
Rumrill, John, noticed, 440.
Rum River, mentioned, 183.
Ruscelli, —, mentioned, 82.
Rusk, J. M., curator of the Society, 11-12.
Russell, Hiram, noticed, 441.
Russian Imperial Library, size, 38.
Rust, Hiram, noticed, 454.
Ryan, Edward G., war speeches, 380; noticed, 424, 452-53.
Ryan, Samuel, mentioned, 401.

SAKAEGAN Lake, identified, 130-34; Rice's statement, 130-31; Robinson's statement, 131; Strong's statement, 131-32; Wheelock's statement, 132; Rice's rejoinder, 133; *Sunday Telegraph's* statement, 133-34; Draper's note, 134.
Salomon, Edward, mentioned, 379-380.
Sanders, W. F., donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Sarcel or the Teal, Winnebago Chief, mentioned, 246.
Satterlee, Mrs. Cornelia, noticed, 439.
Sauk Indians, mentioned—Cruzat's letter, 123; treaty with Harrison, 130-31; repel Americans at Sauk Rapids, 198-99, 219-32, 254-55; mentioned, 148, 211, 213-16, 235-39, 243-45, 250-52, 256, 265, 269, 272, 273, 281; massacred by Sioux, 223-26.
Sauteur or Chippewa Indians, 235.
Sauteur or Chippewa River, 225.
Saukville, early settlement, 394.
Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary*, cited, 127.
Sawyer, P., donor to Binding Fund, 29
Saxony, Royal Public Library, size, 38.
Scarrett, Mrs. Electa, noticed, 446.

Schantz, Adam, noticed, 440–41.
Schliemann, Dr. —, mentioned, 103, 104.
Schmidt, Sister Emanuel, noticed, 439.
Schnorrenberg, Romanus, noticed, 455.
Schoolcraft, H. R., cited, 134, 157; explorations, 119.
Searls, Jesse D., noticed, 452.
Selkirk's Colony, relieved, 299.
Sewall, Robert, photograph, 27.
Shaubena, Pottawattamie chief, photograph, 27.
Shea, J. G., cited, 106; publishes Marquette's map, 115.
Sheboygan City, early settlement, 389–96; sketch of Farnsworth, 397–400.
Sheboygan County, early settlement, 389–96; sketch of Farnsworth, 397–400.
Sheboygan, mounds noticed, 50.
Sheridan, P. H., mentioned, 381, 384.
Sherwood, Granville, noticed, 456.
Shipman, S. V., honorary vice-president of the Society, 7, 9, 11.
Shock-o-pee, or The Six, Dakota Chief, 178.
Shortall, James, donor to Cabinet, 98.
Shutter, Charles, donor to Cabinet, 98.
Sibley, H. H., cited, 299.
Sibree, Miss Gertrude, noticed, 440.
Silliman's Journal of Science, cited, 41, 63, 64, 69, 73, 100.
Silver Lake, mounds noticed, 60.
Sinclair, Patrick, Mackinaw treaty, 282, 285.
Single, Charles A., noticed, 448.
Sioux or Dakota Indians, incidents, trade, sufferings, 158–92; Upper and Lower bands, difference, 173; Red Thunder, noticed, 165–73, 178; Red Whale, story of, 174–78; Red Wing, noticed, 178, 197; Gen. Cut Thumb, noticed, 184–90; Little Crow, 178; expedition against Chippewas, 184–90; services, 221, 224, 226, 227; massacre Sauks, 323–26; mentioned, 223, 235, 242, 246, 247, 251, 281. See also Wa-pe-sha, and Little Corbeau.
Skeat, W. W., cited, 105.
Skinner, Morgan L., noticed, 462–63.
Slaughter, William B., noticed, 437.
Smalley, C. W., donor to Cabinet, 97.
Smith, A. Hyatt, mentioned, 414, 415.
Smith, George B., mentioned, 20–21, 411, 424, 438.
Smith, G. W., finds copper implements, 97.
Smith, Gerrit, donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Smith, John A., noticed, 461.
Smith, John B., noticed, 428.
Smith, Perry H., honorary vice-president of the Society, 7, 9, 11.
Smith, Sewall, noticed, 455.
Smith, W. E., curator of Society, 7–10; mentioned, 410.
Smith, W. F., mentioned, 372–75, 378.
Smith, William R., mentioned, 387.
Smithsonian Contributions, cited, 41, 53, 69, 72, 73, 100, 104.
Snelling, Josiah, cited, 465.
Snowden's *American Coins and Medals,* cited, 124.
Snyder and Van Vechten's *Historical Atlas,* cited, 286, 391.
Spalding, Joseph, noticed, 427.
Spanish medal, found in Wisconsin, 121.
Spencer, Thomas, noticed, 460.
Squier and Davis, cited, 41, 69.
Starr, William, noticed, 434.
Starin, Henry D., noticed, 448.
Starved Rock (Ill.), mentioned, 119.
State Historical Society, objects of collection, 4; officers, 7, 9, 11; synopsis of annual reports, 13–39; library increase, 13–14, 21–28, 29–39; manuscript additions, 13, 19, 26, 37–38, 125; binding fund, growth and condition, 13–14, 21–22, 29–32; annual expenditures, 13, 21, 27–29; newspaper files, 16–18, 25, 35–36; antiquities added, 18–19, 26, 37, 97, 120, 121, 125, 126; autograph additions, 18, 25–26, 37, 125; cabinet additions, 18–19, 26, 37; Art Gallery, 19, 27, 37; Columbus portrait, 76, 92, 94; Columbus engravings, 79; relationship to State, 20; bereft of officers, 20–21; enlarged accommodations needed, 28, 31, 38–39; commendations, 21, 28, 345.
State Journal, mentioned, 103.
State University Observatory, Washburn's gift, 345–46, 355, 358, 360–63.
St. Germain, —, Indian interpreter, 228.
St. John, —, Indian trader, 148.
St. Louis, in 1800, 148.
St. Maurice, —, a Northwestern hunter, 168–69.
St. Paul *Pioneer,* cited, 157, 298.
St. Peters, trading-post, 158–60, 464.
Stedman, Silas, Sheboygan pioneer, 394.
Steele, Willis, noticed, 456.
Steffin, Francis, noticed, 441.
Stevens, Breese J., curator of Society, 7–12.
Stevens, Chase A., mentioned, 387.
Stevens, Miss Clara M., donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Stewart, William, noticed, 421.
Stockman, Charles B., noticed, 457.

Story, A. E., noticed, 461.
Strebi, Andrew, donor to Cabinet, 19.
Strope, Miner, noticed, 451.
Strong, Moses M., vice-president of Society, 7, 9, 11; mentioned, 332; presents Crawford County MSS. records, 37; on Lake Sakaegan, 131–132.
Strong, Moses, cited, 67, 73.
Struvé, C. E. W., donor to Cabinet, 98.
Stuart, John, early Mohawk missionary, 150, 174.
Sulte, Benjamin, on Nicolet's visit to Wisconsin, 107.
Sunday Telegraph, cited, 133–34.
Sutherland, James, vice-president of the Society, 7, 9, 11; donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Sweeney, John, noticed, 453.
Sweet, Freeborn, noticed, 462.
Sweet, Capt. —, Sheboygan pioneer, 392.

Taliaferro's MS. Journal, referred to, 126.
Tallman, William M., noticed, 427–428.
Tank, Mrs. C. L. A., benefactor, 13, 29.
Taylor, David, mentioned, 387.
Taylor, Richard C., cited, 41, 64, 66, 70, 72.
Taylor, Stephen, benefactor, 14, 22, 31; donor to Binding Fund, 30; cited, 41, 53, 64, 69, 72, 73; early writer on Aztalan, 100, 104.
Taylor, W. R., mentioned, 340, 387.
Tecumseh's medal, mentioned, 124.
Temperance law, early proposed, 428.
Tenney, H. A., curator of Society, 7–12; cited, 368, 385, 388, 416.
Te-she-shing-ge-Bay, Chippewa chief, 390.
Tete de Chein, or Dog's Head, mentioned, 300.
Thomas, J. E., Pioneer Settlement of Sheboygan County, 389–396.
Thomas, Mrs. L. M., donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Thomas or "Thomaw," Menomonee chief, 277–280.
Thomas, Mrs. Sarah, noticed, 446.
Thomas, Sauk chief, 215, 237, 254, 277.
Thomas, Terrill, donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Thomas, William M., noticed, 438.
Thorndyke, Israel, benefactor, 77.
Thornton, C. C. G., donor to Binding Fund, 21, 30; donor to Cabinet, 26.
Thorp, J. G., donor to Binding Fund, 29, 30.
Thurston, C. M., donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Thurston, Thomas, early New England settler, 127–29.
Ticknor's *Catalogue of Spanish Books at Harvard*, cited, 80.
Tilton, Hezekiah C., noticed, 433.
Timme, E. G., curator of the Society, 11–12.
Tishegan Lake, referred to, 131.
Todd, W. C., good offices acknowledged, 78.
Tonnerre Noir, or Black Thunder, 207, 238, 240, 246.
Tonty, —, La Salle's lieutenant, mentioned, 119.
Townsend, D. L., noticed, 438.
Traders. See Indian Traders.
Treaty (1804), with Sauks and Foxes, 130, 131.
Trowbridge, C. C., honorary vice-president of Society, 7, 9, 11.
Turkey River (Iowa), Fox village at, 207, 210, 248.
Turner, Henry, noticed, 440.
Turner, J., donor to Cabinet, 98.
Turtle Creek, mounds near Beloit, 56, 62.
Tuttle, —, on Washburn's religious views, 347.

United States *Land Claims*, cited, 282, 285, 290, 293.

Valley, Antoine, noticed, 456.
Van Matre, John J., noticed, 450.
Van Norstrand, A. H., mentioned, 387.
Van Patten, Mrs. Lizzie, donor to Cabinet, 19.
Van Slyke, N. B., curator of Society, 7–12.
Vaughn, William W., noticed, 434.
Veragua, Duke of, descendant of Columbus, 83; resembles Giovian portrait, 88; cited, 90; good offices acknowledged, 79.
Vieau, A. J., cited, 394.
Vilas, Levi B., death and services, 20; mentioned, 387; notice of his career, 430; sketch of his character, 421–25.
Vilas, William F., curator of the Society, 7–12.
Vittum, David S., noticed, 447.

Wack-haw-En-du-tah, or Red Thunder, bravery and endurance, 165–66; at Fort Meigs, 166; sufferings, 166–73.
Waggoner, J. H., donor to Cabinet, 98.
Wa-mix-i-co, Chippewa chief, mentioned, 390.

Ward, Mrs. Anna, donor to Art Gallery, 19.
Warner, H. B., curator of the Society, 7–10.
Warner, Jared, cited, 73; noticed, 443.
Warren, George P., donor of manuscript, 37–38.
Washburn, C. C., president of Society, 7–12; death, 11; donor to Binding Fund, 29; memorial services—addresses: by Atwood, 327–49; Orton, 350–52; Washburn, 352–54; Parkinson, 354–56; Butler, 356–60; Holden, 360–63; Conover, 363–65; Jackson, 365; ancestry, birth, and early life, 328–31; migrates West—on Ill. geological survey, 331; studies law, 331–32; settles at Mineral Point, 332; aids in framing banking law, 350; business employments, 332–35, 342–44, 351, 358; in Congress, 334–37, 350, 352–54; services in war, 338, 352; Governor, 339–40; contests for U. S. Senator, 341–42; philanthropy: State Observatory, 343–44, 345–46, 355, 358; State Historical Society, 345, 358; gift of "Edgewood" for education, 346, 358; provides for library at La Crosse, 346, 358; provides for Orphan Asylum, 346, 358; life regent of University, 346; made LL. D., 346; president of Hist. Society, 346; great reader, 346–47; personal appearance, 347; religious views, liberal and charitable, 347; domestic relations, 347–48; death—funeral honors, 328, 348–49; character: by Atwood, 348–49; Orton, 351–52; Washburn, 354; Parkinson, 354–56; Butler, 356–60; Holden, 360–63; Conover, 363–65.
Washburn, W. B., on Washburn, 352–54.
Washburne, E. B., mentioned, 328, 330, 332, 333.
Washington City, April, 1861, troops massing there, 371.
Watson, James C., mentioned, 362; noticed, 454.
Waubun, Mrs. Kinzie's, cited, 294.
Waukesha, mounds noticed, 58–63.
Wau-pe-sha, or The Leaf, the elder, 1780, accompanies Capt. Long, 290.
Wau-pe-sha, or The Leaf, the younger, greatly respected, 177; at Sauk Rapids, 220–21, 229, 267, 280; mentioned, 212, 219, 238–39, 273; message to Thomaw, 277; noticed, 297, 300.
Wauzeka, locality of Fox village, 295.
Webb, Luther E., noticed, 453.
Wells, Milton, noticed, 448.
West, A. H., noticed, 437.
West, Matthew, noticed, 447.
Westphalian medal, 1648, found in Wisconsin, 126.
We-yo-te-huh, Anderson's Indian name, 370, 391, 397.
Wheeler, E. G., noticed, 450.
Wheeler, William A., noticed, 458.
Wheelock, B. F., early Wisconsin pioneer, 132.
Wheelock, J. H., on Lake Sakaegan, 132.
Wheelock, Ralph, early New Englander, 126.
White, Philo, honorary vice-president of Society, 7, 9, 11; donor to Binding Fund, 30.
Whitney, Daniel, Green Bay pioneer, 322.
Whitney, Mrs. Emily, noticed, 449.
Whistler, John, at Chicago, 154–55.
Whittlesey, Asaph, noticed, 442.
Whittlesey, Miss Caroline, donor to Art Gallery, 27.
Whittlesey, Thomas T., crayon portrait, 27.
Whoo-pah-En-du-tah, or Red Wing, 178.
Whoo-way-hur, or Broken Leg, Dakota Chief, 169–72.
Willard, Josiah F., mentioned, 426.
Willey, Mrs. —, noticed, 437.
Williston, George H., noticed, 455.
Williams, Eleazer, mentioned, 321, 322.
Williams, Henry, noticed, 431.
Williams, Mrs. Jennie, noticed, 444.
Williams, John K., noticed, 447.
Wilmot, Allen, British Indian trader, 178–79, 181.
Wilson, Samuel W., noticed, 443.
Wilson, William, donor to Cabinet, 98.
Winchell's *Hist. Sketch*, 468.
Winnebago Indians, on Rock River—character, 252; on Wisconsin River, 212, 216, 222, 224, 226, 230, 233–34, 241, 248, 281.
Winnebago Lake, early mention of, 115; mounds noticed, 60, 63.
Winnet, James, British army, 204.
Winosheek, Winnebago chief, 235.
Wisconsin, exploration and history—prehistoric remains, 40–74; copper implements, 97–99; mound near Boscobel opened, 75; Aztalan, 40, 99–105; Nicolet's advent, 105–108; discovery of Mississippi, 108–12; Mississippi, its signification, 301–302; forts at Prairie du Chien and mouth of Chippewa, 468; Perrault's Green Bay mission,

112, 126–27; early named Frontenacie, 113, 116; early Indian tribes, 115; French pioneer explorers, 117; French footprints, 117–21; remains of French fort, Barron County, 118–19; Jolliet's early map, 113–17; tradition of Marin, 286; trading-post at Prairie du Chien, 468; fort at Prairie du Chien, 286; Haldimand's certificate to Indian Chief, 125; fort burnt at Prairie du Chien, 290–91; Sinclair's treaty, 282, 285; visited by Anderson, 145–48; Cruzat's letter to Sauks and Foxes, 123; treaty with Sauks and Foxes, 130, 131; Lake Sakaegan identified, 130–34; capture of Prairie du Chien, 193–96, 295–96; Jesuit killed at Butte des Morts, 147; medals given to Indian Chiefs, 123–26, 173, 177; Roman coin—Spanish medal found, 120–26; early mail facilities, 322, 401–403; Cuthbert Grant — Grant River, 296–97; Chippewa Indian's statement, 37–38; visit to Menomonees, 38; Brown County records, 37; Crawford County records, 37; Prairie du Chien pioneers, 282, 285; Joseph Rolette, 293–94, 295–96, 465–67; Farnsworth's adventure, 397–400; Moses Hardwick—early mail carrier, 401–404; pioneer settlement of Sheboygan County, 389–96; Constitutional Convention, 368.

Wisconsin River, called Misconsin by Jolliet, 115; Winnebago signification, 301; shifting sandbars, 147; slow of ascension, 153; mounds, noticed, 57, 64, 66, 67, 73.

Wisconsin Historical Collections, cited, 123, 130, 284, 292, 294, 296, 297, 299, 392, 397, 401, 466.

Wisconsin in the War, Quiner's, cited, 339.

Wisconsin printing office, its volunteers, 380.

Witherell, James, cited, 130.

Wolcott, Charles, noticed, 448–49.

Wolcott, E. B., noticed, 442.

Wolf, Old, Winnebago Chief, mentioned, 226.

Wolf River, mounds noticed, 57.

Wood, Albert, noticed, 434.

Woodman, Cyrus, honorary vice-president of the Society, 7, 9, 11; compliments to Society, 21; donor to Binding Fund, 29; associated with Washburn, 322–33, 350; declined candidacy for Congress, 334–35.

Woodworth, Samuel, noticed, 457–58.

Worthington, Denison, noticed, 447–48.

War of 1812–15, references, Mackinaw captured, 294; attack on Fort Meigs, 166; attack on Lower Sandusky, 299; capture of Prairie du Chien, 193–96, 295–96; attack on Mackinaw, 193, 260; affair at Sauk Rapids, 198–99, 209–32, 254–55, 272; peace—Indians abandoned by British, 197–98, 201.

Wyman, W. H., good offices acknowledged, 79.

Wy-o-be-gah, a Dakota hunter, 161–62.

YATES, Peter, noticed, 433.

Yeizer, Capt. —, at Prairie du Chien, 495–96.

Young, James, noticed, 453.